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ART I.—*Philology and Ethnology and their bearing on Customary law in the Bombay Presidency.*

By

J. A. SALDANHA, B.A., LL.B.

(Read 10th April 1917)

Good deal of laudable attention has been devoted of recent years by our legal publicists, lawyers and judges to old Indian literary lore of Sanskrit text writers (apart from rulings of courts and modern authorities like Mayne's "Hindu Law and Usage,") in elucidating points of customary law in India. The Sanskrit works like Manu's laws, Yajnavalkya, Mitakshara and Mayukha are to a great extent codified customary laws. The question is whether we ought not and cannot go further by a study of ethnology of the people and philology of their vernaculars and after comparing them with parallel phenomena in other parts of the world see what light such study would throw on the origins of customs which are legally binding. This question was attempted to be solved by Sir Henry Maine in several of his works somewhat neglected in those days. In his "Village Communities" he observed:—

"The inquiry upon which we are engaged can only be said to belong to Comparative Jurisprudence, if the word 'Comparative' be used as it is used in such expressions as 'Comparative Philology' and 'Comparative Mythology'. We shall examine a number of parallel phenomena with the view of establishing, if possible, that some of them are related to one another in the order of historical succession. I think I may venture to affirm that the comparative method which has already been fruitful to such wonderful results, is not distinguishable in some of its applications from the historical method. We take a number of contemporary facts, ideas and customs, and we infer the past forms of those facts, ideas and customs not only from historical records of that past form, but from examples of it which have not yet died out of the world, and are still to be found in it. When in truth we have to some extent succeeded in freeing ourselves from that limited conception of the world and mankind, beyond which the most civilised societies and (I will add) some of the greatest thinkers do not always rise; when we gain something like an adequate idea of the vastness and variety of the phenomena of human society; when in particular we have learned not

to exclude from our view of earth and man those great and un-explored regions which we vaguely term the East, we find it to be not wholly a conceit or a paradox to say that the distinction between the present and the past disappears. Sometimes the past is the present ; much more often it is removed from it by varying distances, which, however cannot be estimated or expressed chronologically. Direct observation comes thus to the aid of historical enquiry and historical enquiry to the help of direct observation. The characteristic difficulty of the historian is that recorded evidence, however sagaciously it may be examined and reexamined, can very rarely be added to ; the characteristic error of the direct observer of unfamiliar, social or juridical phenomena is to compare them too hastily with familiar phenomena apparently of the same kind."

This science has been named by Henry Maine "Comparative Historical Jurisprudence." I would prefer to call it Comparative Ethnical and Historical Jurisprudence as having for its object to trace laws to their sources in prehistorical ages, by a comparative study of customs in their several stages from old savage times (to a great extent exhibited in the usages of existing communities) up to the present.

In this paper I propose to touch on a few striking phenomena of customary law in Western India, try to trace their origin to their ethnical sources and see what light the structure of the principal vernaculars of this side of India throws on them.

Among the most remarkable features of customs in Western India I shall here refer to systems of exogamy, lineage and totemism prevailing in Kanarese districts. I may beforehand advert to the system of loose connection between females and males and succession among Nayars, Tiyars and some other castes in Malabar, among whom the management of property of a group of relations counted through females is given to the eldest male, but the property vests in females.

In South Kanara the loose connection between males and females gives away to a real marriage among almost all Shudra and lower castes, with an elaborate exogamous system in which lineage is traced through females and property also descends through females, the management vesting in the eldest female in the family. The exogamous groups are named after plants and other objects both animate and inanimate among the lower castes as also among Tulu Brahmans.

Coming to North Kanara, Dharwar and Bijapur we find matrilineal succession to property supplanted by patrilineal succession—that is through males as laid down by the Hindu

shastras, but leaving survivals of the old system. The exogamous septs are named after objects as in South Kanara and in many a caste descends through females. These septs are called *barris* or *balis* in Kanara and *hedagus* in Dharwar and Bijapur, and are evidently totemistic in their origin. A totem may be described as a social group which depends for its identity on a certain intimate and exclusive relation in which it stands towards an animal kind or a plant kind or a class of inanimate objects and more rarely something that is an individual not a class or kind. There is supposed to be a mystical union—"all in-one-flesh with one another," as some Australian tribes put it, between the totem objects and the group of men and women. This mystical kinship renders the group exogamous, that is no man and woman belonging to the same totem group are allowed to marry one another. On questioning the elders of these totemistic castes in Kanara and Bijapur districts as to the relationship in which they stood to one another they would say that such and such a totem, e. g. elephant is our brother and sister. They reverence the totem in various ways as a relation—though I have discovered no exact evidence of religious worship except what I have heard to be the case from Mr. Enthoven in a place near Karwar.

In some papers I have read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay I have given an account of some 100 names of totem groups existing in North Kanara. I have since discovered about 100 more names of such groups in the Bijapur district as well as Kanara which I hope to deal with hereafter. For this occasion I may draw your attention to certain marriage customs in vogue in Kanarese districts which I think can be explained in the light of the totemistic social organization that must have once existed among the people and which appears to have affected even the language describing certain family relationships. In the Kanarese districts of Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara among Deshasta Brahmins as well as among other castes all sorts of cross-cousin marriages are allowed except among the children of two brothers and two sisters, daughters, whereas in Konkan and Deccan and Gujarat the only cousin marriage allowed is that between a girl and her maternal uncle's son and marriage with a niece would be illegal as laid down in the Shastras.

The reason why two sisters' children could not marry one another was not so much of consanguinity as that of their belonging to the same exogamous group in which totem names descended through females as heads of groups. For instance if a mother with the clan name of *handi* (elephant) had two

daughters, they would also belong to the elephant clan, and their children born of fathers of different clan names would also belong to the elephant group and could not therefore marry one another. The prohibition of marriage among the children of two brothers seems to be due to the realization of consanguinity existing between the cousins as well as to the replacement of the female grouping by the male grouping imported by the Aryan invaders. The practice of a man marrying a sister's daughter so deep rooted in Kanarese districts may be attributed to anxiety to appropriate to his own children the lineage and property of the girl which under the totemistic system would descend through females. What was once a natural custom due to aggrandisement is opposed to the sense of propriety among those brought up in the ideals of Sanscrit text writers or Christian prohibited degrees. To the same totemistic system with the woman as the pivot of the social and family organization may be traced the looseness of the marriage tie that prevails among the Shudras and other low castes in the southern division of this presidency, which enables among some classes even women to dissolve the tie by a mere notice.

Now we proceed to a still more interesting point, that is how the peculiar social organization I have described above is reflected in the vernaculars.

In Kanarese the paternal uncles are described not as uncles but as fathers—if elder brother of one's father he is “dodda thande”—elder father, if younger “sanna thande”—younger father. If a man has lost his own father he will give in a plaint before the Court sometimes his living eldest uncle's name as his father's name. The mother's sisters are similarly treated as elder or younger mothers. The son and daughter of two brothers are called as *anna-tamma*—brothers and sisters. So are sons and daughters of sisters. But sons and daughters of a brother and sister are cousins. They are called by a special name which covers also sons of a woman's husband's brother and her sister's husband. Another interesting peculiarity is that there is no common name for a brother and sister.

This latter is called concrete system while the former illustrates what is named classificatory system. The classificatory system was discovered by Lewis H. Morgan and elaborated in his famous work “*Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human family.*” published in 1871. Since then several savants have written on the subject notably Sir John Lubbock, McLennan, Westermark, and Rivers. The term “classificatory” means that whole classes of relations among the collateral consanguinei are described by one name. This system preponder-

ates in some languages than others—for instance in the Turanian, Dravidian, Malayan and American-Indian languages than in the Aryan, Semitic and Uralian families. There have arisen heated controversies as to the origin of the system and the state of social organization it signifies. But so far as the terminology in Bombay vernaculars is concerned it may be safely asserted that it is the outcome of social conditions, which were once in vogue and survive to a great extent to the present day. Its main feature arises from the existence of exogamous social groups such as are found among several Australians and American aboriginal tribes. Dwelling on the classificatory system of relationship Dr. Riviers in his "*Kinship and Social Organization*" observes :—

" Not only is the general character of the classificatory system exactly such as would be the consequence of its origin in a social structure founded on the exogamous social group, but many details of the systems point in the same direction. Thus the rigorous distinctions between father's brother and mother's brother, and between father's sister and mother's sister, which are characteristics of the usual forms of the classificatory system, are the obvious consequences of the principle of exogamy. If this principle be in action, these relatives must always belong to different social groups, so that it would be natural to distinguish them in nomenclature."

The same remarks apply to the terminology of relationship in Kanarese.

ART II.—‘*Sraosha of the Zoroastrian System : His Identity.*’

By
V. VENKATACHELLAM IYER.

(Communicated.)

SRAOSHA IS THE NAME OF A GOD IN THE ZEND-AVESTA

Scriptures. Who is this God ? What are his functions ? Is he known to us under any other name ? This is the question which I have proposed to myself to discuss.

The Vedic Gods are a colourless lot, with a great deal that is common to them, and with little that is individually distinctive. There are innumerable texts of the Vedas, with regard to which, if we lost the context, we could not tell to which deity they were addressed. There are considerable overlaps in the conceptions about the deities, due probably to the commingling of tribes. One tribe may know the Sun-God under one name and another under a different name. It is conceivable that each tribe may have invested its God with a realism in conformity with its own usages and ideas. If the development, as is natural, proceeded in the several tribes on lines somewhat divergent, when the tribes commingled into one, the God of the more powerful tribe may have eliminated or absorbed the other, or both may have co-existed in some gradation of hierarchy, and with some modifications on either side, as the result of contact and exchange.

This state of things is frequently the cause of doubles in the same system.

The Zoroastrian Gods are not quite as numerous as the Hindu deities. This certainly is not a matter for regret. The universe was the product of a dualism, a combination of good and evil. The good was represented by Ahuramazda, the lord of wisdom and the evil by Aingra Mainyu or Ahriman. Ahuramazda is helped in his Government of the universe by Amesha-spands or Archangels. They are no more than personifications of the abstract virtues, Goodness, Piety &c. So also the leaders of the opposition :—mere abstractions personified. The Zoroastrian mythology is happily relieved from much that we find to

be objectionable in the Greek or Hindu Puranic systems. And as a Hindu I should be sorry to invite a comparison between the two systems. The Vedic Gods, as distinguished from the Puranic, were purely elemental. Fire, air, earth and water all contributed divinities to the pantheon. The Zoroastrian system, notwithstanding its faith in the 'one true God', was not free from these concepts, though they were not allowed to entirely overshadow and eclipse the finer conceptions of religion. The Sun, with his beneficial influence on life and growth and the mathematical precision of his motions, was a matter for wonder, awe and veneration to all primitive peoples. There was hardly a nation by whom he was not worshipped as a God and some time as the supreme God. In particular systems of religion we meet with a plurality of Gods supposed to be distinctively diversified, *Inter Se*, who after all are resolvable into one God, that is the Sun-God.

Bryant, the great scholar, in his examination of Heathen mythology, said that all the pagan Gods known were ultimately resolvable into one God and that the Sun-God. He was probably correct.

The Zoroastrian and Sanskrit systems had their Sun-Gods quite as much as the western nations though under different names and with different delineation. If we study the subject with attention there is no difficulty in establishing the Identity or going a long way towards it.

It is generally known that the Zend language, that is the language of the Avesta, and Sanskrit are closely akin, sister languages so to say, much closer to each other than Greek is to either of them. It was possibly this fact that determined the proximity of the Perso-Aryan and Indo-Aryan settlements in the migrations of the Aryan race, after the break up of the common home, where-ever it was. To one familiar with Sanskrit the word 'Sraosha' has the appearance of an abstract noun, for all that it is the name of a God. It sounds very much like the Sanskrit word SUSRUSHA; (a desire to listen to, to obey) from SRU to hear, without however the reduplication. We need not be surprised to find that it is the same idea and both the Sanskrit and the Zend words mean the same thing, 'obedience'. But in conformity with the usage of the Avesta, in which mere abstractions are personified as concrete deities, this desire to listen, to serve and to obey or 'obedience', as associated with religious and sacerdotal duties, becomes a deity of the name of Sraosha. The word 'Sraosha' has left a derivative in modern Persian 'Suroosh' meaning an angel. This I trust is not far removed from the original.

There are two Yashts dedicated to Sraosha. The Avestan Yashts correspond to the Suktas of the Rigveda.

We are told that one of these is usually known as 'Shrosh Yasht-i-si-shabah', which is modern Persian, and means 'the Sraosha Yasht of the three nights'. The reason for this name is explained to be that it is recited during the three nights after the decease, as part of the funeral ceremonies. Why it should be so recited, will appear below. This Yasht was also in common use at the sacrifices.

The Yasht starts with a formula of praise to Sraosha, which is frequently repeated in a slightly abridged form as a refrain opening each subsequent paragraph. It runs thus :—

'Sraoshem Ashîm Huraodhem Vrithrâjanem Frâdath-Gaêthem Ashavanem Ashahe Ratûm Yazamaide.'

"Let us worship with praise Sraosha who is piety itself, who is handsome, who is the conqueror of Vrithra, who increases the prosperity of the living world, who is pure, and the leader of purity." This formula sums up much that is found in amplification or repetition in the Yasht and serves as a head note, in some measure, to the contents of the Yasht.

The opening verse stands thus :—

Yô Paoiryô Mazdao Dâmagñ
Frasteretât Paiti Baresmen

Yazata Ahurem Mazdagm,

Yazata Ameshe Spente

Yazata Pâyû-Thwôreshtâra

The verse tells us that Sraosha was the first to spread the sacred grass Baresma or Barsom in the creation of Ahuramazda and to worship the Ahuramazda, the Amesha-Spands, and the two guardians of the Cinvat Bridge. In another verse, lower down, we are told that he also regulated the sacrificial use of the Barsom twigs for the several rites, varying their number according to the rite performed. The sacred Kusa grass of the Sanskrit Aryans with its many varieties corresponds to the Iranian Barsom. No Srauta or Smarta rite can be performed without it. It is the climatic variant or substitute of the Barsom. The Amesha-Spands are divinities near and dear to the most High. They are the members of his cabinet, so to say.

The Pâyû-Thwôreshtâra are explained to be the Keeper and the Judge at the Cinvat Bridge, by which departed souls passed over to Hades. This Keeper and the Judge are named as Mithra and Rashnu or in our nomenclature Mithra and Varuna. So then, the meaning of the text is that he was the first to introduce

the worship of the Gods, the sacrifices to them and the use of the Barsom or Kusa on such occasions. In this respect he must have acted as the agent and emissary of the Gods to man ; —an intermediary between God and man. The corresponding position in the Vedic system is occupied by Agni.

One verse of the Rig Veda tells us that it is Agni that strewed Wilson's Rig Veda. the sacred Kusa grass for the sacrifices Vol. 111 P. 253. and that all sacrifices congregate in him.

There are Riks which leave no doubt as to his authority Vol. 111 115/ and credentials. We are told in the 407 Rig Veda, 1st Ashtaka, Verse, 538 W. 11 83-78. Veda that Agni was appointed by the Gods to conduct sacrifices (by men). All the immortals created Agni for the conduct of sacrifices.

Agni was appointed by the Gods as the ministrant for men, the descendants of Manu, at all sacrifices. We are told that Agni ministered at the sacrifice by Manu, the progenitor of the race. This probably is a reference to the first sacrifice after the Pralaya as a thanksgiving for the deliverance from the deluge and the Ark

There are several texts addressed to Agni and containing prayers 1st Ashtaka that he should discharge his function as Verses 526, 534, 825 W. 111. 289, 404. purohit and chief religious minister, at the sacrifices by the Vedic Bards, in the same friendly spirit in which he officiated for Manu, the first Man, for, 'unto this was he created, appointed and delegated by the Gods'

The idea that Agni was the first to introduce and bring into vogue the worship of the Gods with the attendant religious rites is crystallised into a phrase which frequently occurs in the Riks as :—

'Thou art (Oh Agni !) the first and foremost of the Angirasas.'

1st Ashtaka This 'gotra' is claimed to be the most Verse 358. ancient of the sacrificial priesthood and Agni is claimed as their ancestor.

As the bringing into vogue of the worship of the Gods and the sacrifices to them formed the special function of Agni, it follows that he was himself, the chief sacrificer well versed in the craft of the rites. He was 'the regulator and conductor of the sacrifice' as we know from the Riks. He was "the high priest, the chief priest, the expounder of the sacred rites, the regulator, the director, controller and protector of the sacrifices."

He is well-equipped for expounding this sacred knowledge,
 W. 11. 228 for, he is cognisant of all the sacred rites.
 W. 111. 9. He understands them thoroughly, in due
 course.—

Sraosha, like his Vedic Brother, is not a very aristocratic God. He is very kind to man and does several goodly offices for his comfort. One of such is that he builds houses for man.

The text says :—

Yo drighaoshcha, drivyaoscha
 amavath nmānem hagmtāshhti.

'He constructs for the poor man and the poor woman, strong dwellings, well-built.'

From the high priest and religious minister to a carpenter or mason is not a natural transition. Yet, the reason of it will be apparent, when we compare him in this respect with Agni. As we cannot understand literally Sraosha's occupation as a builder of houses, we must interpret the text to convey the idea, that he presides over the building of houses, that he protects dwelling houses, wherever found.

When the Aryans outgrew the nomadic stages of life and settled down in village communities, tents and tabernacles had to give place for permanent dwellings. The sacred fire was an indispensable part of the appointments of every dwelling. It was religiously worshipped by the house-holder and his family. It guarded the house and protected its inmates. The village was an aggregate of households, the country of such villages ; so that, each house, each village or township and each country had its sacred hearth. The vestal virgins who were dedicated to Vesta guarded the sacred communal fire of the Roman Republic and this Vesta was an alias of the Hestia of Greece. It is noted that in Homer the household fire is known and worshipped, but the goddess Hestia is not mentioned. The assignment of this tutelary function to a *goddess* was probably a later idea.

The Sanskrit word *Vastu* वास्तु means a 'dwelling house,' 'Building ground,' 'house-site.' It is connected etymologically with Vesta or Hestia. cf. Gk. *astu*, city. The Sanskrit वस्तः occurs in the Veda as meaning day, or day light ; उप्स is approaching dawn ; उषित् means burnt up, scorched : all these are from a radical meaning fire. As no house could be conceived without the sacred fire, they both were treated synonymously. The sacred fire and the dwelling-house were almost interchangeable.

We accordingly find in the Veda that 'Agni is the head of the household fire.' 'Agni presides over dwellings.'

Rig Veda

1st Ashtaka

Verse 16.

1. 111. 269

1. 111. 478

1. 111.11 19/225

1. 111. 15/19/22/

243 244/261/

411/478.

'Agni is lord of the dwelling'.

'Agni is the grantor, giver or bestower of dwellings.' He is thus a co-worker with his Iranian brother Sraosha in town-planning and town-building.—

Sraosha is a great warrior. He is frequently engaged in battles against the enemies of the gods and the enemies of man. He has overthrown well-known hordes of Rakshasas. He is constantly engaged against Devs and other evil spirits. Night and day he is called on to gird up his loins and proceed to battle against individuals or multitudes. He fights the Kayadhas, the Kāidhyas and the Māzendarāns. He fights the Asmodeus and his hosts of demons, devils and phantasms and always returns victorious to the councils of the Gods, whose general he is. In short, he is the avenging warrior against the powers of evil and the powers of darkness :—

(1) Yo vananô Kayadhahé
Yo vananô Kāidhyéhe
Yo Janta Daêvayao Drujô

(2) Yô vispâish ayagncha Kshatnascha Yüidhyeiti,
Mâzanyaêibyô Hadha Daêvaêibyô

(3) Snathâi Mâzainyanagm Daêvanagm
Snathâi vispanagm Daêvanagm.

The verses may thus be rendered :—

(1) He who is the conqueror of the Kayadhas as also of the Kāidhyas.

He, who is the conqueror of the treacherous Devs.

(2) He, who all days and all nights battles with the Devs, named, Mâzainyas.

(3) (His weapon is uplifted) for smiting the Mazainya Devs and all other treacherous fiends and Devs.

We have also texts saying that he fights the malignant Aêshma-Deva or Asmodeus and his leader Aingra-Mainyu or Ahriman. The Kayadhas and the Kāidhyas were hostile tribes who were put down by the prowess of Sraosha. I shall have to say something more of them before I close. The Devas of Mazendaran were powerful Rakshasas to use our word. They were Scythic tribes inhabiting the district near Gilan named Mazendaran, (i.e.)

the District skirting the Caspian Sea to the south, hemmed in between that inland sea and the lofty ranges of mount Elburz, below the ancient province of Hyrcania. They were semi-savage in the days of the Avesta and were constantly given to harassing the Median or Iranian peasants in the plains to the south.

These tribes were naturally pictured as Devs or Rakshasas and they figure as such in later Persian Romances also. Readers of the Shah-namah will recollect that the great hero Rustum crowned his renown by his successful though very hazardous expedition against these Devs.

Agni is the generalissimo of the fighting forces of the Gods. He kills the Asura chieftains, destroys their cities and subdues their hosts to the eternal glory of the immortals. He is not less active against the Rakshasas, the Dasyus and other malignant agents of the powers of evil and darkness.

We find in the Veda that the Gods made Agni foremost in battle. That the Gods overcome their enemies and adversaries through Agni. The Gods kindle Agni as destroyer of Vritra and of the cities of the Asuras.

Agni has destroyed Vrita, Sambara, Pani and the Dasyus and the cities of the Asuras.

Innumerable are the texts in which the help of the God is invoked for the destruction of political, social and even personal enemies of the householder. Agni is invoked to destroy the Rakshasas, the Dasyus, the evil doers, and all and singular those 'whom we hate' and 'those who hate us'. The God of light battling against and conquering the powers of darkness is a matter of course. It is a metaphorical extension from the powers of darkness to those of wickedness and evil.

In addition to waging war against the Asuras and other enemies of the Gods, Sraosha takes under his protection his worshippers when they go forth to battle against their enemies. This ensures success for the side he espouses, which we may take to be the righteous one. His help is invoked in this manner.

Zāvare Dayao Hitaēibyō
 Drvatātem tanubyō
 Pouru spakshtim Tbishyantagm
 Paiti-jaitim Duzhmainyunagm
 Hathrā-nivātīm Hamerethanagm.

'Mayest thou give strength to our (war) horses, give us strength of our bodies, vantage ground over our enemies, the ability to smite the evil-minded and to destroy the enemies, with one blow'. The prayer for similar help in the Veda is addressed to Agni.

1st Ashtaka 306/308. He is asked to provide chargers for battles for his votaries,

W. 11. 321. 'Agni protects us in battles' and is frequently invoked to do so.
W. 11. 241/254/256/264.

Sraosha is not content with destroying the Rakshasas and enemies of the true faith, but is always engaged in laying the foundations of a pure religion, pure in theory and practice. He is the Keeper of the house-holder's conscience and brings under his control the freedom of the latter's actions. He expects from the householder purity of thought, word and deed and does not otherwise care to dwell in his house.

All this has its counterpart in the Veda, where Agni is concerned to regulate the conscience and morals of 1st Ashtaka 356 the Grihastha, to keep him straight in the path of duty and rectitude, freed from impiety in thought or action.

The prayers addressed to him make it clear that his functions in this respect were well-known and recognised.

1st Ashtaka 1019 "Oh, Agni destroy our evil intentions.
W. 11.26. "Preserve us from sin.
W. 111.119. "Lead us to good and keep us from evil.
W. 111.15. "Consign us not to malignity.
W. 111.17. "Free us from small animosities.
W. 111.124. "Extirpate sin.
W. 111.141. "Keep us from all iniquity."

All this is in perfect accord with the purifying element of fire. Sraosha is repeatedly described as pure and truthful—

We find that Agni is the performer of holy acts.

W. 11.25. He is the incarnation of Rta 真 i.e. rectitude, purity.
W. 11.330. He is free from sin.
W. 111. He is the observer of truth.
W. 111.117/377. He worships truth.
1st Ashtaka 820 He is the doer of good deeds.
W. 111.411.

The ideas of purity and truth come natural when we find that Agni consumes all impurities. The idea of truth was early

implanted in men's minds by the faultless precision of the course of the Sun and of the cycle of seasons as controlled by him.

There are verses in this Yasht which say that Sraosha had hardly any sleep after creation started. All day and all night he is ceaselessly vigilant to guard men and this world from wicked spirits and evil-doers. He goes round and round this world fully armed, and ready to smite the foe, and always on the alert.

The God Agni is equally vigilant. He is active slaying Rakshasas by night as by day. He protects us

1st Ashtaka verse
841
W. 111 1056.
W. 111.26.

night and day from injury and from enemies, ever wakeful by his own lustre, for the protection of the world. One Rik is important.

W. 111 33
Be pleased Agni with the cakes and butter offered at the 3rd sacrifice of the day and do thou convey the sleep-dispelling oblation to the immortal Gods.'

A libation was served up at night-fall, which, when quaffed by Agni, dispelled sleep.

One Rik says that Agni never slumbered after he was born.

W. 111 37. Another is very interesting in this connection. It is a prayer to Agni and says:—

' May thy protection, unslumbering, alert, propitious, unslothful, benignant, unwearied, co-operating, preserve us.' In the Yajur Veda we find the Dikshit, taking leave of the sacrificial fire for the night, says:—

' Oh Agni, do thou keep waking for our protection and welfare and we will go to sleep (without fear) '.

The solicitude of Agni for the good of his worshipper is thus apparent and keeps him on the watch, day and night.

The true basis for this idea is a simple one. From the time that fire was discovered by man with the uses to which it could be put, it had been kept alive from day to day. As regards the sacred fire, it was kept going. It should never be extinguished. If the sacred fire of the householder or the District or the Government was put out, it was a calamity for the householder or the nation. It had to be renewed with solemn sacrifices from the Sun's rays or produced by attrition.

It was by reason of this belief that the sacred fire was always kept burning night or day. Hence the sleepless vigilance of Agni or Sraosha.

It was pointed out above that Sraosha at the start worshipped the greater Gods, i.e., Ahuramazda, The Ameshaspands and Mithra and Varuna.

He did so as the ministrant of man and does so day after day. He is so much in the confidence of the Gods whose messenger he is, and they are so much in his confidence that they come down at his request to this region to accept the humble oblations offered by the descendants of Manu, a privilege or honour to which man would not be entitled but for the intervention of this God. We find likewise that Agni is constantly invoked to bring the Gods hither, to bring them to receive the oblations.

Agni is entreated to worship Mithra and Varuna, for the benefit of the householder and to worship the other Gods as well. One Bard wishes Agni to bring Soma with his horses. 'Bring the Gods unto us,' says another.

1st Ashtaka, verse 820 W 111.411.
1st Ashtaka, verse 823 W. 111.20/27.

There is no doubt that a perfect understanding prevails between the Gods on the one part and Agni on the other, for we are told: 'that in their minds the Gods are much devoted to Agni.'

Sraosha is the guardian and protector of the householder from evils abroad and nearer home; for, we are told in the Yasht that "plague, pestilence, sickness, troubles, calamities and afflictions fly away, far from the house in which Sraosha finds himself established, welcomed, pleased and satisfied; and where the man worships him with true devotion being pure in thought, word and deed."

As the tutelary deity, honoured guest and permanent protector of the house, Sraosha provides all domestic comforts and procures the increase of all material and spiritual prosperity. Let us turn to Agni. We find him similarly honoured and similarly occupied in the household of the Vedic Ritwik. For, say the texts:—

'Agni is kin to all, a close friend and companion. He is the protector of the householder who worships him. Agni is a guest in the house. He is the priest of the family. Agni is our guest and guide to heaven. Agni is reverenced as a friend. Agni is the ancient guest of man, an immortal placed among mortals.'

1st Ashtaka, 819
1st Ashtaka, Verse, 118
W. 111. 117
W. 11. 25
W. 111. 404
W. 111. 117

'The man who worships him is protected by him and will be endowed with a luminous mind.'

'The man will be ever prosperous who propitiates Agni.'

(We have also many prayers like the following:—)

'O Agni, grant us exemption from sickness and danger.'

W. 111. 19.

'Avert all calamities.'

W. 111. 239.

As the giver of worldly comforts, he is frequently appealed to, to bestow an abundance of food, of flocks, W. 11.24/225. of progeny, of wealth and riches, etc., on. W. 111.13.15.10. his worshippers. It should be surprising if the deity presiding in the house could not do so much for his man notwithstanding that himself is getting the best of every thing available as an offering.

As the guide, philosopher and friend of man and the trusted agent of the Gods we may take it that Sraosha is learned, wise and eloquent. We find that this is so.

He is the messenger of Ahuramazda and first recited the five Gāthās to the holy prophet Zoroaster and expounded the same with comments to the eternal glory of the Amesha-spands.

His also, is the handiwork of the Yashts. He speaks as a practised Rhetorician.

Hvachao Pāpō. Vachao, Paire gāvachao.
Paithimnō vīspō paēsim.
Mastim, yagm Pōuru Āzaintim.
Magthrahecha Paūrvatātem.

'Of good words, guarding words, speaking timely words, keeping in view the greatness of abounding in explanation and keeping in view the superiority of the mantra'. The Amesha-spands show great deference to Sraosha on account of his extensive knowledge.

Agni is certainly not wanting in these excellent accomplishments or in extensive knowledge.

Much of what has been said of Sraosha in this respect is adequately summarised in the Sanskrit word 'Kavi' which, though more associated in lav Sanskrit with a poet, really means a learned man of great wisdom.

Agni is constantly addressed as Kavi by the Vedic Bards. The Riks say that he is learned.

'He knows all that exists as a sage endowed with knowledge. His wisdom is manifold.'

The Gods have made Agni the Knower of all that
1st Ashatka 116 is born. Agni is most wise and the-
W. 11. 229. expounder of sacred-rites. Agni is wise and
W. 111. 13. 14. omniscient.

W. 111. 402. Agni is knowing.
W. 242. He is well-informed of both heaven and
earth and the intermediate firmaments.

He is omniscient.

W. 111. 402
W. 142,

Agni is most wise. He is a holy sage.

Agni is wise and sweet-worded

Agni is the speaker of Brilliant words like
the learned sage that he is.

The Vedas were the result of direct inspiration from the Creator and so the learned activity of any God could be confined only to the Subordinate branches of the sacred lore such as the sacrificial laws, rules and proprieties.

There are certain other characteristics which require to be noticed. I shall do that presently, after introducing the reader to a new God from Olympus, an Aryan cousin of Sraosha and Agni

Hermes is a Greek God as to whose origin and real character it is stated that there is more divergence of opinion than in the case of any other Greek God. It seems he has been regarded as the God of rain, of the evening twilight, of the dawn, of the clouds, of the Inferum and of course also as a solar God. Another theory is that he is the wind-God.

In my humble opinion these discussions are mostly one-sided; without something of a comparative study, the discussions lead to no satisfactory result. I do not wish to do more in this attempt than to place some suggestions before the reader.

I incline to believe that Hermes was neither more nor less than a solar God. There may be a few characteristics in the case of every God, which do not quite fall into the line. But it should not be forgotten, that every deity of any system is not necessarily native and indigenous to that system and may retain some only, of the features of his original form amid his new environments, or if native, may by foreign contact, have submitted to a change or modification of habit and form. Hermes was originally Arcadian. He belonged to a province considerably under Phoenician influence before Hellenism prevailed there, notwithstanding the apparent isolation of Arcadia. The Greek Hermes is as we now find him entirely Puranic in character, if I may say so. He started as a Vedic deity and finished up as a Puranic God—that is how I should like to put it. That explains much of the gaiety and frivolity imported into his get up.

This flaunting gear should not however be allowed to obscure the naked truth.

Hermes is the messenger of the Gods, their herald; their envoy, announcing their behests to man and carrying the prayers and oblations of man to them. This character is expressed clearly in the case of Agni and is quite apparent in the case of Sraosha. The fact that the modern Persian word 'Suroosh' is used to

mean an angel and messenger of the Gods is significant as a traditional reminiscence of the function once discharged by Sraosha. The description of Agni as ईश्वर or messenger is as constant as his appellative of Hôta or Invoker of the Gods. We find in the Riks that “Agni is the herald of the Gods.”

W. 11. 322. “The Gods have made Agni their messenger.”
W. 111 18. W. 111.

“He is the most well-informed herald and envoy of the Gods.” As the herald of the Gods, Hermes is wise and eloquent, attributes which co-exist in both his oriental brothers.

Hermes was believed to have been the inventor of sacrifices, an honour which he shares with Sraosha and Agni. This involved the protection of sacrificial animals agreeably to the Sanskrit text यज्ञार्थम् पशवः सृष्टाः.

These animals were bred and reared by shepherds. Hence he was looked up to as their special God and Pan was his son. The appeal to Agni for the increase of the flocks is found times out of number in the Riks and this fact has been noted above.

This circumstance about his being the inventor of sacrifices is a very important one and should not be overlooked as also his being the messenger of the Gods. A short passage from Seydel's 'Classical Dictionary' may be excerpted here with advantage.

“Again, as Hermes was the sacrificial herald of the Gods, it was an important part of the duty of heralds to assist at sacrifices. It was on this account that the priestly race of the 'kerykês' claimed him as the head of their family.”

This is just what has happened in the case of Agni; for, the race of priests of the name of Angiras claimed Agni as one of themselves, as their ancestor the son of Angiras and the progenitor of the race and in the Riks he is often addressed as Angirasta, or the chief and head of the Angirasas.

Hermes is the conductor of souls into Hâdê, a function common to all solar Gods, for when the Sun goes down the horizon, he goes into the nether world and there takes charge of the departed man even as he does in this world of the living one.

Sraosha and Agni are equally busy in this respect and invoked for protection in the next world quite as much as here. The reason why this Yasht is recited for three days after the death will now be apparent. During these three days the deceased is under Sraosha's guidance and care and at the end he is firmly settled in his new abode to which he is conducted by Sraosha.

Hermes was generally in charge of the health of the public as well as of the individual. He kept people from sickness, averted diseases and calamities like Sraosha or Agni and he made himself peculiarly useful to the shepherd in warding off pestilence from the flocks.

He was intimately connected with the everyday life of the Greeks; so much so that there was not a single house in which indoors and outdoors images of Hermes were not found. This is conceivable, because, like Agni, he was a household God protecting every house and never leaving it. He was the guide, philosopher, friend, companion and priest of every householder. A libation was poured out to Hermes before the family retired to bed. This I take it corresponds to the libation of Soma offered to Agni to keep him awake throughout the night. By an extension of this idea of protection, we find that he is the patron of all travellers, and merchants who are travellers for gain.

In the wars between the giants and the Gods, Hermes was conspicuous by his gallantry and was as good a general as either Sraosha, or Agni.

Some of his specialities are Puranic in character. I do not wish to dwell on them more than to mention that with regard to such he comes nearest to the Puranic doubles of Agni, the Gods, Kārtikēya and Vināyaka.

There are some personal notes common to Hermes, Sraosha and Agni, which may now be considered. These are all three young and very strong and handsome. The Yasht records of Sraosha that he was the strongest, sturdiest, well-built and most fleet of foot among the young.

'Yūnagn̄ aojishtem, yunagm tanchishtem

Yunagm Asishtem.....

Herme^s was also young and very athletic. He presided over gymnastics and the gymnasia.

Agni was his companion in age.

Agni is frequently addressed or referred to as a youth or as

Rig Veda 1st Ashtaka verse 16. "the youngest", यविष्ट, a favourite phrase. He is the youngest of the Gods and we are also told in a Brahmana:—

W. 11.19.

W. 111.141.

अमेस्तयोज्या यांसो भ्रातर आस्तु. Agni had three elder brothers; he was the fourth and thus the youngest. Agni is also very strong in body:—'son of strength' is a phrase used frequently in addressing him.

Hermes is the swiftest of foot. He has been supplied with a pair of shoes or sandals to his feet and they are winged. The result is that he is carried through the immensity of space with inconceivable rapidity. This celerity of motion is part of the well-known symbolism of solar mythology. It represents the swiftness of the Sun's course round the world. The sandals of Herne⁴ are not unknown to us. They are the sandals left behind by Rama, the solar hero, when he went into exile, and worshipped at Ayodhya by Bharata and others. It does not appear that Sraosha and Agni were pedestrians like Hermes but the end in view, that is, extraordinary speed, was secured in their case by the excellence of their chariots and steeds. We find in the Yasht, that Sraosha was drawn in a chariot by horses. The horses were beautiful to look at, radiant with light, cast no shadows and coursed through space with a swiftness which is thus described :—

‘ Asyangha aspaēibya, āsyangha Vātaēibya

Āsyangha vāraēibya, āsyangha maēghaēibya

Āsyangha Vayaēibya pataretaēibya

Āsyangha hwastayao ainghimanayao ’

“ Fleeter than horses, fleeter than winds ; Fleeter than water, fleeter than clouds.”

“ Fleeter than the winged birds and fleeter than the arrow discharged by an expert archer.”

We are told in the Yasht that this chariot is driven round every day from the Indus in the east to Nineveh in the west.

There cannot be a more simple or suggestive note about the identity of Sraosha with the Sun.

Agni has his chariot harnessed with equally good steeds, which W. 111.100. are robust and vigorous.

There is no reason to suppose that their speed can be any less than the speed of the divine Iranian thoroughbreds.

The Yasht contains one item of importance and this is about W. 111.115. the personal habitation of the builder of W. 11.228. dwellings.

It is on the highest height of Mount Elburz. The mansion is a splendid one, supported on a thousand pillars, self-illuminated in the inside of it and star-spangled on the outside.

Now, it seems to me, that it is impossible to mistake the meaning of this passage. It is a distinct avowal of the real character of Sraosha as a Sun-God.

Mount Elburz occupies in the Zoroastrian system, the place of Mount Meru in the Puranic.

We know that the Sun and the Moon have their dormitories in the caverns of this mountain and the stars dance about the summits.

What after all is the reality about Agni ? No doubt he is the vulgar fire of the domestic hearth. He is also the sacred fire of the sacrificial hearth. Is that all ? No. He is some thing more. He is the Sun in the heavens.

In one Sukta, he is identified with Mithra and Varuna. It is
w. 211-237. added that all the Gods are in Agni. If then

Mitra is the rising Sun and Varuna the setting Sun, the equation of Agni with them makes the matter very clear.

There are some texts which go further and introduce us to a better knowledge of the subject. I may be excused for citing two Riks.

1st Ashtaka, तोणिजाना परिभूषन्त्यस्य । समुद्रेकम्-दिव्येकमप्तु

Verse 1029. पूर्वमनुप्रदिशम् पार्थिवानाम् । चतूर्न् प्रशास द्विदधावनुष्टु

“Three are the births for this Agni, one in the Ocean (as marine fire). One in the Heavens (as the Sun). One in the ethereal plane (as the lightning). He (this Agni) has devised the cycle of seasons for the benefit of mortals and has fixed the identity of the East (and the other points) ”.

1st Ashtaka पृष्ठो दिवे पृष्ठो आमेःपृथिव्याम् । पृष्ठो विश्वाओषधीराविवेश

Verse, 1.056. वैश्वानरस्सहस्राष्ट्रामः । सनोद्वासरिषः पातुनकम्

“ This Agni is manifested in the Heavens (as the Sun). On the earth he shows himself (as the sacred fire) and he has also entered all the herbs and crops. May that Agni guard or protect us by day and by night : ”

These texts manifest the consciousness of the Vedic bard about the real identity of Agni.

There is one text which may be consulted with advantage in connection with the identity of Agni and Sraosha :—

1st Ashtaka, नत्वाहो तारमृतिव जम् दधेरवसुदित्तमम्

Verse 538. शुन्कर्णीम् सप्तस्तमम् । वप्राअमे दिवेष्टु ॥

‘ Oh Agni, the Brahmins have firmly established in the sacrifices thee, who art the invoker (of the Gods), thee, who art a holy priest, thee who givest riches, thee, who art celebrated, ‘ *thee, who hast got good ears to hear* ’. शृन्दर्ज. (Sruti-Gaosha of Avesta). The last phrase contains the key-note. It is a paraphrase of the notion which has furnished the name Sraosha. The messenger of the Gods must have good ears to hear the orders of the Gods and the prayers of men.

Hermes was reproduced in ancient Rome as Mercurius.

He was worshipped in Egypt under the name of Thoth. This was very ancient worship and to some extent formed the parent source of later adaptations abroad. This Thoth was also Phoenician.

In the Veda we find, Agni addressed as तुथः which is a name for Agni as unmeaning as unaccountable. It is probable that this word तुथः is the same as the word Thoth.

The European scholar Kühn first pointed out the identity of the Greek Σέρμειας with the Sanskrit सारमेय. The female dog Sarama had two sons who guarded the way to the abode of the dead. They acted also as the messengers of Yama ; their mother was herself the messenger of Indra. Mythologists have shown that primitive conceptions commonly pass through the stage of animals before reaching that of Gods and in mythology both are preserved, side by side. (Britannica Encyclo :).

The two dogs have passed into astronomical fables widely known. The milky way is the bridge of the Gods. The Sun in his celestial journey was supposed to cross the heaven by this bridge. This crossing place is guarded at the two extremities by two dogs. These two dogs are the spotted one, the star Sirius, and the yellow one, named Procyon. The pair in Sanskrit synonyms is mentioned under the names Syama and Sabala ; Sarvara (GK. Kerberos) and Sārameya ; Svan and Prasvan.

These two dogs guarded the Sun on his northern journey at the winter-solstice and also on his return journey homewards at the summer-solstice.

(Hewett's History and Chronology of the myth-making age.)

I have now done with this topic. A fuller discussion is not possible within the limits of this paper.

I wish to be excused, however, for recalling the attention of the reader to certain features common to the three gods named above, which, at the same time, are decisive of their identity. For, there are some others of their features which can be shown to be common right through the whole pantheon, Greek or Hindu, and might suggest criticism calculated to confuse or mislead.

Every god whose worship is popular is invariably a beneficent deity. He gives increase of kind to man, increase of flocks to the shepherd, of crops to the farmer and of riches to the man of business. For, were it not for this, for what else should a god be worshipped. If Hermes, Sraosha and Agni give you increase of flocks, so does Pan. If they give you increase of crops, so does Dionysus. So does Priapus. If they give you riches, so

does Plutus. If they avert disease, so does Apollo. All this is no more than the first attribute of divinity. Just what raises the god above the level of man. But you cannot bracket all these divinities together as we find them developed in mythology. There are, however, aspects in the portraiture of these deities, Hermes, Sraosha and Agni, which must be regarded carefully to appreciate that, by reason of them, they are bracketed by themselves and marked off from the rest of the divinities :—

1. They are the inventors, originators, conductors or propagators of sacrifices. They are the progenitors of the sacrificial priest-hood.
2. They are the messengers and the heralds of the gods.
3. The oblations offered and prayers addressed to the gods can reach only through them.
4. Though gods themselves they worship other gods for and on behalf of man.
5. They are the builders of houses and cities. They are tutelary deities and preside in the house, and over the hearth.
6. They keep constant vigil, night and day, for the special benefit of man and his belongings.
7. They are the conductors of souls to Hades.

These are well-defined lineaments which are decisive in separating this group from the rest of the gods. By agreement as among themselves, in the several particulars special and general, they stand together and by reason of the special particulars they are differentiated from all the other gods.

There is one other matter, however, on which I wish to say a few words. It is not perhaps very pertinent to the present discussion; but at the same time, it is not probably very irrelevant. It is about the probable date of the composition of this Sukta, the 'Shrosh Yasht.' I believe the Yasht furnishes some data for this purpose. I may state at the outset that, in this field, as in the Vedic, reliable dates are an unknown quantity. Hence the occasion and necessity for discussion.

There are three passages in this Yasht which, I believe, have a historical bearing.

One of these has been already cited. It is to the effect that Sraosha subdued the Kayadhas and the Kāidhyas.

The clue to the meaning of these words has been lost. Zend-scholars have made a guess at the meaning and, to conform to the context, the words have been taken to mean (tentatively) heretics, unbelievers. With due deference, I beg to be allowed

to make a suggestion. I incline to think that the Kayadhas are 'Skythæ with the S dropped.

The word Kāidhya is a Tadhita derivative from Kayadha. That is to say, a tribe closely connected with the Skythai, hence kindred tribes. A reference to ancient history will be found useful.

The Skythai, Gk. Skvthai were the Scyths of history widely distributed over Sarmatia and the Siberian steppes.

The Kāidhyas were the Cimmerians who lived in Taurica, *i.e.*, the peninsula of Crimea. The Skyths were their masters and the Cimmerians were so badly treated that they left their homes and through Europe entered Asia, at the north-west corner of Asia Minor. This province they overran and committed outrages and degradations, which historians have described as monstrously savage, but which, in comparison with the contemporary doings of a great civilization, must be accounted as mere misdemeanours. It took more than a generation before they were effectively got under.

The Skyths or Kayadhas, baulked of their prey, started in pursuit of these Cimmerians but they took a wrong route, under a mistaken notion that the Cimmerians proceeded eastwards. The Skythai accordingly proceeded east, keeping the Caucasus to their right, and then burst through the passes at the Caspian end of the range into the districts southwards, which they ravaged mercilessly. The Median King, Cyaxares, who had just returned victorious from a campaign against Assyria, met them in battle and was defeated. For a period of 28 years they held the sovereignty of the Median Kingdom after which they were expelled by a ruse. This was about 620 B.C. or thereabouts. The account may be consulted in Herodotus and in Rawlinson's History.

I venture to suggest that the historical epoch referred to above is alluded to in the lines :—

Yô Vananô Kayadhahe
Yô Vananô Kāidhyehe.

I shall now refer to another passage to which also the reader's attention was already drawn in another context. This is where the speed of Sraosha's horses is described. This is the passage in which it is pointed out that everyday the horses of Sraosha have to draw his chariot from the great Eastern River to the seat of Nineveh. The great eastern river is identified with the Indus of India and we know the seat of Nineveh. So lamentable was the fate of this great city that within a short time after its destruction in 606 B.C., it rapidly fell into ruins. It

ceased to be inhabited and became a mass of buried ruins which the later generations of the neighbourhood were not able to recognise as the spot where Nineveh stood.

Xenophon, in leading the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, just 200 years later, walked over the sacred soil of Nineveh, without knowing what he trod on, and the natives of the country thereabouts were not able to tell him, for they knew no better. It stands to reason therefore to suppose that this verse should have been written when Nineveh was still a shadowy reality or at least a living memory. The reference to the Indus, implies a historical period, when the portion of India to the west of that river was an integral part of the great Persian Empire.

These two verses fix the two extreme points.

I think there is a third verse which will enable us to fix the period with some precision between these two positions.

The third verse is a passionate appeal to Sraosha to put an end to certain revolutionary movements of armed forces threatening the peace and freedom of the country. The reference was undoubtedly to contemporaneous events.

These attempts must have been against the established government; and, in Zoroastrian lands, were chronologically possible and probable only at the start of the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, that is Darius I, whose rule commenced at about 520 B.C.

"Save us from the hard-hearted armies which have uplifted the relentless banner at the instance of the evil genius, Asmodeus who is driving them on, attended by the Demon of Death, brought in by the evil one."

When Darius, the son of Hystaspes, acquired the throne, after the usurper Smerdes was done away with, the signal for a general uprising was given at once by his enemies and almost every province was in open revolt. Pretenders took advantage of the situation and placed themselves at the head of armed levies. One after another, all of these were defeated in battles, taken prisoners and put to death with tortures. The history of these fruitless attempts which must have taken place between 520 B.C. and 515 B.C. or thereabouts is recorded in detail in the celebrated inscription which was engraved on the rock of Behistun, under the orders of the victorious Darius.

Almost every passage of the inscription protests the Emperor's faith, real or affected, in the worship of Ahura-mazda and the practice of the religion of the Mazdayasnians.

*Art. III.—The Mogul Emperors at Kashmir:
Jehangir's Inscriptions at Virnâg. An inscription
on the Dâl Lake.*

By

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(Read on 17th July 1917).

I

I had the pleasure of visiting the interesting and beautiful country of Kashmir for the first time in Introduction. May 1895. This visit suggested several subjects for study. Of these, one was "Cashmere and the Ancient Persians", and a Paper was read on the subject before this Society, at its meeting of 9th December 1895.¹

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XIX, pp. 237-48 A public lecture on "Kashmir" was also delivered in Gujarati on 21st January 1896, under the auspices of the Gujarati Dnyan Prasarak Society. (Vide my Gujarati "Dnyan Prasarak Essays" Part I, pp. 185-203). Thomas Moore in his Lala Rookh has sung the praises of the beauty of Kashmir. He sang :

"Who has not heard of the vale of Cashmere
With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave
Its temples and grottos, and fountains as clear
As the love-lighted eyes that hang o'er their wave?"

The study of this poem, after the above visit, suggested the subjects of three Readings in Gujarati; one on Thomas Moore's poem of "The Fire-Worshippers" on 1st November 1895, the second on that of his "Loves of the Angels" on 30th October 1896, and the third on Voltaire's "Les Guebres" on 31st October 1903 (Vide my Gujarati "Episodes from the Shâh-nameh"). The first subject forms an episode in Moore's Lala Rookh. Thomas Moore was an Irishman and the Irish question is a very old question. In his poem of "The Fire-Worshippers", while picturing the noble fight of one of the flying bands of Zoroastrians after the Arab conquest, he preaches Toleration and Freedom, and, it is said, that in preaching and praying for these for the Zoroastrians, he had at the bottom of his heart the question of Toleration and Freedom for his countrymen, the Irish. Thomas Moore's "Fire-Worshippers" in the Lala Rookh which speaks of Kashmir, reminds one of "Les Guebres" of Voltaire who, while describing the persecution of some Persians, is said to have aimed at the persecution of the Christian Jansenists and desired toleration for them.

In 1895, there were no good roads there. A tonga road had just been made upto Barāmulā, whence the river Jhelum becomes navigable upwards to Srinagar and further up. Since then, pretty good roads have been made up to Srinagar and in other parts of the country, whereon even motors run now. A railway line is now contemplated. I remember my guide, Rahim, telling me, during my first visit, that no sooner the whistle of a Railway engine will be heard in Kashmir the Bchesht (paradise) will fly away from it to the higher mountains. That is quite true. As Mr. Walter del Mar says " . . . Now is the time to visit Kashmir before the amenities of the Kashmir Valley are endangered by the new railway."¹

I had the pleasure of re-visiting Kashmir in June-July 1915. This second visit suggested several subjects of study. One was that of the very interesting people of the country, the Pandits. It formed the subject of my Paper on "The Pandits of Kashmir" before the Anthropological Society of Bombay² on 28th July 1915.³

The present Paper has been suggested to me by some of the Persian inscriptions which I saw in Kashmir during this second visit. It is especially the two inscriptions at the beautiful spring of Virnāg that have suggested the subject. I took a copy of them, very little suspecting at the time that they have not been published. I inquired at the time from Mr. Daya Ram Sohani, the head of the Archaeological Department of Kashmir, whether the inscriptions were published, and I was told that they were not. To make the matter certain, whether I was anticipated by some one, I wrote again this year on 3rd May 1917 to Dr. D. B. Spooner of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India to make inquiries if the Virnāg inscriptions were published. He kindly forwarded the matter for further inquiry to the officiating Superintendent of Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Lahore Circle. By a coincidence, Mr. Daya Ram Sohani happened to be the Superintendent, and he wrote to me in his letter dated 22nd June 1917: "As far as I know, the inscription in question has not been published properly at any place. Other Persian Inscriptions from Kashmir are published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. XXXIII (1864) pp. 278 et

¹ "The Romantic East, Burma Assam and Kashmir," by Walter del Mar, (1906) Preface p. VI.

² Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay Vol. X, No. 6, pp. 461-85.

³ The visit has also been the subject of 19 descriptive letters on Kashmir in the Jam-i Jamshed of Bombay, beginning with two on my visit of the interesting Excavations by Sir John Marshal, the Director of Archaeology, Govt. of India, at the site of the old city of Taxila near Rawalpindi, the last Railway Station whence we start for Kashmir.

seq. and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1880) p. 54." Such being the case, I think, that I publish in our Journal for the first time, the Inscriptions at Virnâg.

I will divide my subject under the following heads :

I. A short account of the rule and visits of Kashmir by the Mogul Emperors.

II. The Text and the Translation of Jehangir's Inscriptions at Virnâg, and a few observations on them.

III. As a supplement to the Paper, I will refer to an inscription on a tomb on the Dâl Lake.

II

I.—A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE RULE AND VISITS OF KASHMIR BY THE MOGUL EMPERORS.

I will, at first, give a short account of the rule and of the visits of Kashmir by the Mogul Emperors. In this account, I will dwell, at some greater length, on the visits of Jehangir, because we have to identify the events and dates given in his above inscriptions, and to identify the person Haidar named in the second inscription.

It is the hand of God that has made Kashmir naturally beautiful, but the hand of man has tried to add to its beauty. In this matter, the Mogul Emperors of India, and among them Jehangir especially, had a great hand.

Among the Mogul Emperors, it was Akbar who first conquered Kashmir and it was Jehangir who first embellished it.

Geographically, Kashmir stands, as it were, in the middle of three stages: (a) In the first stage, down below Kashmir are the vast hot plains of Punjab, Sind and other parts of India. (b) The second stage is Kashmir's own, in which it, in a higher region, forms the most beautiful of the beautiful valleys of the world, watered by a river and a number of streams. As said by a French writer, "there are few valleys more beautiful than this part of Kashmir."¹ (c) Then the third stage is that of the higher Himalayan mountains by which it is surrounded on all sides. On account of its position near these mountains (dâmân-i Kuh) (دامان کوہ) it is, as it were, the Indian Piedmont.²

In the matter of History also, she can be said to have three periods or stages. (a) The first is that, which can be called the pre-historical period, of which its written history, the Râjataran-

¹ *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, Vol. VIII, p. 112.

² *Ibid.*

gini gives us a little glimpse. According to Parsee books and some Mahomedan books of history, the early ancient Irāmians had some relations with Kashmir as with northern India. Early writers speak of it as a part of India. The Pahlavi Bundelesh speaks of Kashmir as a part of India. I have spoken before, on this subject, in my paper before the Society, entitled "Cashmere and the Ancient Persians."¹ (b) Its second historical stage or period, and that the most important period, is the one mostly described by the Rājatarangini. During this period, we have both, what Sir Francis Younghusband terms "outward effort" and the "inward effort" *i.e.* attempts on the part of foreigners to invade and occupy Kashmir and the attempts on the part of the Kashmiri kings to conquer adjoining countries like Punjab, Tibet and Badakhshān. In spite of a number of inglorious pages here and there, it may comparatively be called the golden or the glorious period of its history. (c) The last period is that which is subsequent to this second and which extends up to now. The Mogul period can be said to belong to the last part of the second or the middle period which was a long extensive period. We will give a short bird's-eye view of the second period, most of which is principally referred to by the Rājatarangini.

III

Sir Francis Younghusband, in his interesting and beautifully illustrated book on Kashmir, while speaking before the ing of its history, says:—"A country of such striking natural beauty must, surely, at some period of its history, have produced a refined and noble people. Amid these glorious mountains, breathing their free and bracing air, and brightened by the constant sunshine, there must have sprung a strong virile and yet æsthetic race. The beautiful Greece, with its purple hills and varied contour, its dancing seas and clear blue sky, produced the graceful Greeks. But Kashmir is more beautiful than Greece. It has the same blue sky and brilliant sunshine, but its purple hills are on a far grander scale, and if it has no sea, it has lake and river, and the still more impressive snowy mountains. It has, too, great variety of natural scenery, of field and forest, of rugged mountain and open valley. And to me, who have seen both countries, Kashmir seems much the more likely to impress a race by its natural beauty. Has it ever made any such impression?"² Sir Francis Younghusband replies that the noted shawis of Kashmir

¹ Journal B. B. R. A. XIX, pp. 237-48. Vide my "Asiatic Papers" Part 2 pp. 99-110.

² Kashmir by F. Younghusband (1909) p. 194.

and the remains of its old temples, "remarkable for their almost Egyptian solidity, simplicity and durability, as well as for what Cunningham describes as the graceful elegance of their outlines, the massive boldness of their parts," indicate, that "its inhabitants have a sense of form and colour and some delicacy and refinement."¹ "The people that built the ancient temples of Kashmir must have been religious, for the remains are all of temples or of sacred emblems, and not of palaces, commercial offices or hotels: they must have held at least, one large idea to have built on so enduring a scale, and they must have been men of strong and simple tastes averse to the paltry and the florid. What was their history? Were they a purely indigenous race? Were they foreigners and conquerors settled in the land, or were they a native race, much influenced from outside, and with sufficient pliability to assimilate that influence and turn it to profitable use for their own ends?" Younghusband answers this long question, by saying that the race was indigenous, but still it was subject to foreign influence. Though its surrounding lofty mountains acted as a barrier against foreign influence, its natural beauty made up for that barrier, because it attracted foreigners in spite of the difficulty of access.

The Rājaratarangini, written by Kalhana in A. D. 1148 and brought down to later times by additions by Jotraj in 412, and to still later times by further additions by Shrivar Pandit in 1477, begins the history with a reference to the times of Asoka (about 250 B. C.) the relics of whose Buddhist temples are still seen in this country. Alexander the Great had invaded India in about 327 B. C. and his invasion is said to have made some Greek influence on Indian Architecture. Hence it is, that we see on old Kashmir temples the influence of Greco-Buddhist art. Darius, the great Persian, had preceded Alexander and had also left some traces of Iran's Persepolitan influence on Indian Art. Hence it is, that we see some traces, though few, on Kashmir buildings, e.g. on the great Mārtand temple, of the Persepolitan influence. The modern village of Prandrathan, three miles above Srinagar, was the site of the old city founded by Asoka.² The name signifies "old capital" (purānadhishthān).

After Asoka and his heirs, there came the Indo-Scythians under Kamishka (about A. D. 40) and his successors, who ruled in the north and even on the north-western frontiers of India. This line of kings also was Buddhist, but their Buddhism was

¹ Ibid.

² I had the pleasure of visiting the ruin and the present excavations on the site in the agreeable company of Mr. Daya Ram Bohani, the Superintendent of the Archaeological Department of Kashmir, on 18th June, 1915.

partly infused with some Zoroastrian ideas, as can be seen from their Indo-Scythic coins, which, as showed by Sir Aurel Stein, had the names of Zoroastrian deities on them. Kanishka is said to have held in Kashmir the Third Great Council of the Buddhist Church, which council is said to be the author of "the Northern Canon" or "the Greater Vehicle of the Law" (Mâhâ-yâna, lit. the High or the broad liberal way). Harwan,¹ one of the several beautiful places of Kashmir, at present a site of the Water Works for Srinagar, is spoken of as the seat of a known Buddhisaatva, Nagarjuna.

The Buddhism of Asoka and Kanishka was overthrown by Brahmanism. This fact appears from the writings of the Chinese traveller, Hieun Tsiang, who, visiting Kashmir in A. D. 631, deplored, that Buddhism was neglected there.

A century later, there was an excursion of the White Huns headed by Mihracula, who, driven away from India, went to Kashmir, and paying ungratefully the hospitality of the ruler, captured his throne. The name Mihracula is a Persian name. He is said to have founded the temple and the city of Mihreshwara and Mihirapur. All these names, which are connected with Mihr, the later form of Avestaic Mithra, point to his being one who can be called an Irâanian Hun. Râjatarangini condemns him for having introduced in Kashmir, Gandharwa Brahmins to supercede the orginal Hindu Kashmir Brahmins. I have referred to Mihracula at some length in my paper, read last year before the Society on the subject of the Huns.²

Then, we come to a reigning family, which belongs to Kashmir itself. Its famous king was Lilâditya (A. D. 699 to 736). Not only did he rule Kashmir well, but he conquered adjoining countries such as Punjab, Tibet and Badakhshân. He was the builder of the celebrated temple of Mârtand whose ruins still appear to be grand and majestic. King Avantivarman (A. D. 855 to 883) the founder of Avantipura, whose ruins we still see, was one of his dynasty. A number of weak rulers followed him and there was a good deal of disorder for a number of years.

Then, there came the first invasion of Mahomedans under Mahmud Gaznavi (A. D. 1015) which was unsuccessful. There were dissensions in the family of the ruling dynasty, which had several weak kings till the time of Harsa (1089-1101). By 1339, the Mahomedan power had made great strides in Punjab and in the adjoining country. A Mahomedan ruler, named Shah Mir, deposing the widow of the last ruling Hindu ruler, founded for the first time a Mahomedan dynasty. The kings of this

¹ I had the pleasure of visiting this beautiful spot on 14th June 1915.

² Journal B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXIV No. 3 p. 588.

dynasty were not strong. Disorder and internal struggles continued and the country was no way better than during the last 200 years of disorder and misrule of the Hindu rulers.

Then, there came Zain-ul-abud-din (1420-70), of whom the people still speak as the Pâdshâh *i. e.*, the King. He was to Kashmir, what, later on, Akbar was to the whole of India including Kashmir. He was tolerant to the Hindus, so much so, that he contributed money for the repairs of old Hindu temples and for the revival of old Hindu learning. His reign was, as said by Younghusband "a mere oasis in the dreary record" of a long line of Mahomedan kings, both those who preceded him and those who followed him till 1532, when Mirza Haidar, at the head of some Turks from the northern regions, conquered Kashmir and ruled for some years. In 1536, Akbar's generals conquered it, and it became a part, as it were, of India. The Mogul rule, thus established, continued for about 200 years.

IV

Now, we come to the Moguls, whose taste for art led them to give a helping hand to beautify Kashmir. It was Jehangir especially who had done a good deal in this matter. The Shâlimâr, Nishât, Virnâg and many other gardens point to this king's handsome work in this line. Bernier, a French physician and traveller, who lived in the 17th century (died A. D. 1688), was in the Court of Aurangzebe for about 12 years, 8 out of which he served as a court physician. He visited Kashmir in the company of a Mogul nobleman named Danishmand who accompanied Aurangzebe. He says, that the Moguls considered Kashmir to be the paradise of India. He thus speaks of the beauty of Kashmir, as he saw it in the time of Aurangzebe: "I am charmed with Kachemere. In truth, the kingdom surpassed in beauty all that my warm imagination had anticipated. It is probably unequalled by any country of the same extent. . . . It is not indeed without reason that the Moguls called Kachemere the terrestrial paradise of the Indies. . . . Jehanguir became so enamoured of this little kingdom as to make it a place of his favourite abode, and he often declared that he would rather be deprived of every other province of his mighty empire than lose Kachemere."¹

Taimur, the ancestor of the Mogul Emperors of India, who had written his auto-biography known as *Taimur and Kashmir*. "Malfuzât-i Taimuri (طیموری) *i. e.*, the Words or Memoir of Taimur, refers to Kashmir. His memoir is also known as *Tuzuk-i Taimur* (طیموری).

¹ Constable's, Oriental Miscellany of Original and Selected Publications, Vol. I Bernier's Travels A. D. 1656-1668 (1891) pp. 400-401.

وَزْجَ) i. e., the Institutions or Regulations of Taimur. It was written in Turki and then translated into Persian in the reign of Shah Jehān. In these Memoirs, Taimur refers to Kashmir and to the Spring of Virnag. He says : " I made inquiries about the country and city of Kashmir from men who were acquainted with it and from them I learned that. . . . Kashmir is an incomparable country. . . . In the midst of the country there is a very large and populous city called Naghaz.¹ The rulers of the country dwell there. The buildings of the city are very large and are all of wood and they are four or five stories high. They are very strong and will stand for 500 or 700 years. A large river runs through the middle of this city, as large as the Tigris at Bagdad and the city is built upon both sides of it. The source of this river is within the limits of Kashmir in a large lake, some parasangs in length and breadth which is called Virnâk. The inhabitants have cast bridges over the river in nearly thirty places. These are constructed of wood, stone or boats ; seven of the largest are within the city and the rest in the environs. When this river passes out of the confines of Kashmir, it is named after each city by which it passes ; as the river of Damdana, the river of Jand. The river passes on and joins the Chinab above Multan."²

We find a short account of Kashmir in the Zafar-Nama of Sharaf-ud-Din Yazdi, " which is a very partial biography of Timur written in A. D. 1424. . . . and is based upon the Malfuzât-i-Timuri."³ We read there: " There is a city named Naghaz, which is the residence of the rulers of the country. Like Bagdad, the city has a large river running through it, but the waters of this river exceed those of the Tigris. It is extraordinary that the waters of so great a river all spring from one source, which source is situated in this country itself and is called Vir."⁴

V

It was in the 31st year of his reign (Hijri 993, A. D. 1585) that Akbar invaded Kashmir. He advanced as far as Atak and sent Bhagwan Das, Shah Kuli Mahran and other well-known Amirs, with about 5,000 horses, to effect the conquest of Kashmir.⁵ They were opposed by Yusuf Khan, the ruler of the country, who came and blockaded the pass. The above generals resolved to make peace. They settled that Yusuf

¹ I think it is a corruption of Nagar, the final Persian, (r) being by mistake written with a nuktah as (z). This name Nagar then is a contraction of Sri-nagar (Cf. Nagar for Ahmednagar.) ² Elliot's History of India Vol. II. p. 476.

³ Ibid III p. 478.

⁴ Ibid V, p. 450.

⁵ Ibid p. 522.

may pay some tribute to Akbar in saffron, shawls and some money. Akbar disapproved of the terms of peace and at first was angry with his generals, but he afterwards admitted them into his audience.¹ Akbar then sent Kasim Khân Mirbâhîr to conquer Kashmir. Owing to the dissensions among the Kashmiris, the task of conquest was easy.

Akbar took Kashmir in A. D. 1586 and visited it three times. During one of these visits, he directed the fort of Hari Parbat to be built. His son Jehangir completed it. We read as follows in the *Tabakât-i-Akbari*: "The rulers of Kashinir had always been well-wishers and servants of the Imperial house. His Majesty now intended, after performing his usual pilgrimage to Ajmere, to pay a visit to the tomb of Saikh Farid Shakarganj and to visit the Panjab. So he sent Mullâ Ishki, one of the old servants of the Court, along with Kazi Sadru-d-din, to Kashmir. Alikhan, the ruler of Kashmir, entertained them nobly and respectfully, and exhibited his fidelity and devotion".²

Akbar then paid a running visit to Kashmir in 1589 (Hijri 997) when on his way to Kabul. Leaving the ladies of the Court on this side of the mountains of Kashmir, he "went on express."³ In 1592, he paid another visit. On his way thither, he heard that Yâdgâr, a nephew of Yusuf Khân Rizani, his governor of Kashmir, had raised the standard of revolt and declared himself as the Sultan. This rebellion was put down and Yâdgâr was killed before Akbar reached the capital. We read in the *Tabakât-i-Akbari*, that he "stayed there eight days, riding about and hunting water-fowl. . ." On his return journey, embarking in a boat, he proceeded towards Bâra-mula on the confines of Kashmir, on the way to Pakhali. On the road he saw a reservoir called Zain-lanka. This reservoir is enclosed on the west, north and south by mountains and it is thirty *kos* in circumference.⁴ The river Bahut (Jilam) passes through this lake. Its water is very pure and deep. Sultan Zain-u-l-Âbidin carried out a pier of stone to the distance of one *jarib* into the lake and upon it erected a high building. Nothing like this lake and building is to be found in India.⁵ After visiting this edifice he went to Bara Mula.⁶ In all, Akbar paid three visits to Kashmir.⁷

¹ *Ibid* p. 453

² *Ibid* Vol. V, p. 411.

³ *Ibid* Vol. V, p. 457.

⁴ This reservoir is now known as Wular Lake, which is said to be the largest lake in India.

⁵ Udaipur in Mewar (Rajputana) is spoken of by some as the "Kashmir of Rajputana." There, we see beautiful artificial lakes. In the midst of one of these, we find some handsome royal buildings. There may be an imitation of the above building in the Wular Lake.

⁶ *Lilot* V p. 465.

⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Tarret's Translation II, p. 348

Akbar had divided his Empire into divisions called Subâhs. Kashmir as described in the *Ain-i-Akbari* Each Subâh was known from the name of the tract of the country or its capital city. Latterly, when Berar, Khandesh and Ahmed-nagar were conquered there were in all 15 Subâhs. Each Subâh was sub-divided into Sarkârs. There were in all 105 Sarkârs. Each Sarkâr was divided into paraganâhs or Mahals. All the Sarkârs were subdivided into 2,737 townships.¹ The Subâhs were spoken of as being in such and such a climate. The term climate meant a slope or inclination and "was used in the mathematical geography of the Greeks with reference to the inclination of various parts of the earth's surface to the plane of the equator. Before the globular figure of the earth was known, it was supposed that there was a general slope of its surface, from South to North, and this was called '*klima*'. But as the science of mathematical geography advanced, the word was applied to belts of the earth's surface divided by lines parallel to the equator, these lines being determined by the different lengths at different places, of the shadow cast by a gnomon of the same altitude, at noon of the same day. . . . The Arabs adopted this system, but restricted the number to seven."² The Arabs seem to have followed the ancient Iranians who had *haft keshwars*, *i. e.*, seven regions or climates. In our inscriptions, Jehangir is spoken of as the king of these seven regions. Kashmir belonged to the Subâh of Kâbul which comprised Kashmir, Pakli, Binbar, Swât, Bajaur, Kandahâr and Zabulistân. The capital of this Subâh was Kabul. Kashmir lies in the 3rd and 4th climates. Of the several routes leading to this country encompassed on all sides by the Himalayan ranges, the Pir Pangal route was the one adopted by Akbar in his three visits to "the rose garden of Kashmir."³

Abul Fazl, the great historian of Akbar, thus speaks of Kashmir:

Abul Fazl on the beauty of Kashmir: "The country is enchanting and might be fittingly called a garden of perpetual spring surrounding a citadel terraced to the skies, and deservedly appropriate to be either the delight of the worldling or the retired abode of the recluse. Its streams are sweet to the taste its waterfalls music to the ear, and its climate is invigorating . . . The lands are artificially watered or dependent on rain for irrigation. The flowers are enchanting, and fill the heart with delight. Violets, the red rose and wild narcissus

¹ *Ain-i-Akbari* Bk. III., Imperial Administration. Jarret's Translation 1891. Vol. II., p. 115.

² *Ibid.* p. 115. n. 4.

³ *Ibid.* II., p. 348.

cover the plains. To enumerate its flora would be impossible. Its spring and autumn are extremely beautiful . . . Tulips are grown on the roofs which present a lovely sight in the spring time.”¹

Abul Fazl thus describes the Vernag spring : “ In the Vertract

The Vernag of the country is the source of the Behat. spring, described in It is a pool measuring a *jarib* which tosses in the *Ain-i Akbari*. foam with an astonishing roar and its depth is unfathomable. It goes by the name of Vernag and is surrounded by a stone embankment and to its east are temples of stone.”²

VI

JEHANGIR'S VISITS OF KASHMIR.

Now we come to the reign of Jehangir. We will speak of

The beauty of his connection with Kashmir at some length, Kashmir. Jehangir's hand in beautifying because he had a great hand in beautifying Kashmir, and because we have to explain and fying it. identify the events and dates referred to in his inscriptions. In his work of beautifying Kashmir by laying gardens at various beautiful places, Jehangir was ably assisted by his Nur Mahâl. We know that this queen had great influence upon Jehangir in various matters, even in state matters.³

Kalhana, the author of the Râjatarangini, while speaking of Kashmir's beauty, says : “ It is a country where the sun shines mildly, being the place created by Kashyapa as if for his glory. High school-houses, the saffron, iced water and grapes which are rare even in Heaven are common here. Kailâsa is the best place in the three worlds, Himalaya the best part of Kailâsa, and Kashmir the best part in Himalaya.”⁴ The Kashmiris speak of their country as “ an emerald set in pearls, a land of lakes, clear streams, green turf, magnificent trees and mighty mountains, where the air is cool and the water sweet, where men are strong and women vie with the soil in fruitfulness.”⁵

Bernier says of the Dal Lake of Kashmir, as he saw it later on beautified at the hand of Jehangir, that it “ is one of the most beautiful spots in the world. . . Perhaps in the whole world,

¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II., pp. 348-49.

² *The Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II., p. 361.

³ She had a powerful hand in helping the cause of Sir Thomas Roe, the first English ambassador at the Court of Jehangir. Roe was so much helped and supported by Nur Mahâl, that he wrote from Jehangir's Court to his people at Surat : “ Noor Mahâl is my solicitor and her brother my broker ”. (*Early English Adventurers in the East* by Arnold Wright 1917, p. 163.)

⁴ As quoted by Sir W. Lawrence.

⁵ *Ibid.*

there is no corner so pleasant as the Dal Lake." Of the very beautiful lake of Manasbal, Sir R. Younghusband¹ says that it is "a jewel among the mountains." I was pleased with no lake of Kashmir so much as with this beautiful gem. Moving about in your boat in the calm and clear water of this lake, you feel, as if you see beautiful pictures moving in a cinematograph before you.

Kashmir was beautiful and Jehangir vied with Nature to make it more beautiful. In his memoirs, he often spoke of Kashmir as "*Behesht-nazir Kashmir*" (بہشت نظیر کشمیر) ² i.e., the paradise-like Kashmir. At times, he spoke of it as *delpazir* (دelpazir) ³ Kashmir, i.e., heart-ravishing Kashmir.

In connection with Jehangir's detailed admiring description

Beveridge's estimate of the beauties of Kashmir and of its taste of the various flowers, one may notice what of Jehangir. Mr. Beveridge says of the scientific tastes of the Emperor. "If Bâbur, who was the founder of the Mogul Empire in India, was the Cæsar of the East, and if the many-sided Akbar was the epitome of all the great Emperors, including Augustus, Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Julian, and Justinian, Jahangir was certainly of the type of the Emperor Claudius, and so bore a close resemblance to our James I. All three were weak men, and under the influence of their favourites, and all three were literary, and at least two of them were fond of dabbling in theology. All three were wrong in their places as rulers. Had James I. (and VI of Scotland) been, as he half wished, the Keeper of the Bedlers, and Jahangir been head of a Natural History Museum, they would have been better and happier men. Jahangir's best points were his love of nature and powers of observation, and his desire to do justice."⁴

Jehangir had paid, in all, six visits to Kashmir, two of which Jehangir's six were in the company of his father Akbar visits of Kashmir, and four during his own reign. We will briefly refer to these visits, as described by him in his Memoirs. This description will give us an idea, not only of his tastes and of his love of Nature, but also of his admiration for Vernag, where we find his two inscriptions which have suggested to me the subject of this paper. At first we will speak of his impressions about Vernag, as formed during his visits in the lifetime of his father Akbar.

¹ Kashmir by Younghusband, p. 37.

² Vide the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, pp. 213, 240, &c. ³ Ibid., p. 213.

⁴ The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. II. Part I. pp. V-VI.

Jehangir came to the throne on 24th October 1605 (1014 Hijri) at the age of 38. In the second year of his reign, he went to Kabul. While describing his journey to that city in his Memoirs he refers to the river Bihat, i.e., the Jhelam, on the banks of which he had pitched his tents. The mention of Jhelam makes him speak of Vernag, the source of the river Jhelam. He thus describes Vernag :

" The source of the Bihat is a spring in Kashmir called the Vir-nâg ; in the language of India a snake is Vir-nâg. Clearly there had been a large snake at that place. I went twice to the spring in my father's lifetime ; it is 20 *kos* from the city of Kashmir. It is an octagonal reservoir about 20 yards by 20. Near it are the remains of a place of worship for recluses ; cells cut out of the rock and numerous caves. The water is exceedingly pure. Although I could not guess its depth, a grain of poppy-seed is visible until it touches the bottom. There were many fish to be seen in it. As I had heard that it was unfathomable, I ordered them to throw in a cord with a stone attached, and when this cord was measured in *gaz* it became evident that the depth was not more than once and a half the height of a man. After my accession, I ordered them to build the sides of the spring round with stone, and they made a garden round it with a canal ; and built halls and houses about it and made a place such that travellers over the world can point out few like it."¹

We learn from this passage, that Vernag was a favourite place of Jehangir and that he had been twice there during his father's time. We learn further, that after his accession to the throne, he had ordered the sides of the tank to be built up with stone and a garden to be made near the place. The first inscription, when it speaks of the order of His Majesty (حکم آن حضرت), seems to refer to the order mentioned in the above passage. During my first visit of Kashmir in 1895, I had passed one night in one of the houses over the spring referred to by Jehangir in the above passage. Since then, the building has been destroyed by fire, and, during my second visit on 30th June 1915, we had to pass the day in the adjoining garden under the shady *chinârs*, and the night in the pavilion over the main canal, the *jui* or *âb-shâr*, referred to in the inscription.

¹ The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, or Memoirs of Jahangir, translated by A. Rogers, edited by H. Beveridge (1909) Vol. 1, p. 92.

Jehangir visited Kashmir in the 15th year of his reign. He gives a rather extensive account of it in his Memoirs. The thought of visiting Kashmir occurred to him in the 14th year of his reign (1619-20). He thus speaks of his first thought :

" As the purpose of visiting the eternal spring of the rose-garden of Kashmir was settled in my mind, I sent off Núru-din Quli to hasten on before, to repair as far as was possible the ups and downs of the Punch route to it, and to prepare it, so that the passage of laden beasts over difficult hill-tops might be accomplished with ease, and that the men should not undergo labour and hardship. A large number of artificers, such as stone-cutters, carpenters, spadesmen, etc., were dispatched with him, to whom an elephant was also given."¹ I will give here a short account of this visit, as given in his Memoirs, because we learn theretrom, Jehangir's impressions of the beauty of Kashmir and of its interesting places and features.

Jehangir started for Kashmir at the end of the 14th year of his reign. He celebrated the Naoroz of the 15th year (10th March 1620 the 1st of Farvardin) on the banks of the river Kishan Gangá. In some of the mountainous tracts of this country, it is often difficult to find a flat place for a camp. So Jehangir notes with special satisfaction the fact of a proper place being found by chance. He says :² " On the top of this (a ridge overlooking the water, green and pleasant) was a flat place of 50 cubits, which one might say the rulers of fate had specially prepared for such a day. The aforesaid officer (Mu 'tamid Khan) had made ready everything necessary for the New Year's feast on the top of that ridge which was much approved. Mu 'tamid Khan was much applauded for this. The 15th year of the reign of this suppliant at the throne of Allah commenced happily and auspiciously."

On coming to Bárámulá, he was told that " in the Hindi language they call a boar Báráh (Varaha) and mula a place—that is, the boar's place. Among the incarnations that belong to the religion of the Hindus, one is the boar incarnation and Báráh mula by constant use has become Bárá mula."³ On the road up, the king and the court ladies were overtaken by a snow-storm. An officer of his court was drowned while bathing in the river. The king describes a *Zampa* or a rope-bridge,

¹ The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. II, (1914) pp. 97-98.

² The *Tuzuk*, *Ibid* Vol. II., p. 128-30.

³ *Ibid* pp. 130-31

which a traveller even now sees occasionally on the river. During my first visit, I tried to walk over one, but soon got nervous and could not go over it for more than a few feet. It is made up of three ropes. On one, which is the lower one, they walk, holding in their hands the other two which are higher up. These ropes are tied with two big strong trees on the banks. Only one man can walk at a time, and nervous travellers are carried blindfolded by an experienced footman on his shoulder.¹

Of the beauty of the country higher up, Jehangir says: "It was broad, and plain after plain, and mead after mead of flowers. Sweet-smelling plants of narcissus, violet and strange flowers that grow in this country, came to view. . . . The flowers of Kashmir are beyond counting and calculation. Which shall I write of? And how many can I describe?"² Later on, he again says of the flowers, that "the flowers that are seen in the territories of Kashmir are beyond all calculation."³ Travelling onward by boat, Jehangir came to the capital, and landed on that bank of the Dâl, where, on the Hari Parbat hill, his father Akbar had directed the construction of a fort. The fort begun by Akbar was completed by Jehangir. The king took 168 days to travel from Agra to Kashmir a distance of 376 *koss*. There were 102 marches and 63 halts.⁴

Jehangir then refers to the Râja-tarang (Râjatarangini) which his father had got translated from the Sanskrit into Persian. He then takes a note in his account of his arrival at the capital of Kashmir, that it was in Hijri 712 (A.D. 1312-13) that Kashmir was first "illumined by the religion of Islam. Thirty-two Mahomedan princes reigned over it for 282 years until in 994 (1586) my father conquered it."⁵ He then got a survey made of the country in order to ascertain the length and the breadth of the valley. The length was found to be about 67 *koss*⁶ and the breadth from 10 to 25 *koss*.

While describing the capital, the city of Srinagar, Jehangir thus refers to Virnâg, the inscription of which forms a part of the subject of this Paper:—"The name of the city is Srinagar, and the Bihat river flows through the midst of it. They call its fountain-head Vir-nâg. It is 14 *koss* to the south. By my

¹ Vide Ibid p. 137, for the description by Jehangir.

² Ibid p. 134. ³ Ibid p. 145.

⁴ Ibid p. 139.

⁵ Ibid II p. 140.

⁶ or 56 *koss*, if "the boundary of a country is the place up to which people speak the language of that country." A *koss* equalled 5,000 yards. Each yard was equal to two *shârî* yards, each of which again was 24 digits or *angusth*. 40 *angusths* made one *lâhi* *gaz*.

order they have made a building and a garden at that source."¹ Jehangir makes a longer mention of Virnâg in another part of his Memoirs.

We have referred above to Jehangir's admiration of Kashmir's beauty and of its flowers. He thus speaks of it further on. "Kashmir is a garden of eternal spring, or an iron fort to a palace of kings—a delightful flower bed, and a heart-expanding heritage for dervishes. Its pleasant meads and enchanting cascades are beyond all description. There are running streams and fountains beyond count. Wherever the eye reaches, there are verdure and running water. The red rose, the violet and the narcissus grow of themselves, in the fields, there are all kinds of flowers and all sorts of sweet-scented herbs more than can be calculated. In the soul-enchanting spring the hills and plains are filled with blossoms; the gates, the walls, the courts, the roofs, are lighted up by the torches of banquet-adorning tulips. What shall we say of these things or of the wide meadows (*julgahâ*) and the fragrant trefoil? . . . The finest inflorescence is that of the almond and the peach. Outside the hill-country the commencement of blossoming is the first *Isfandârîmuz* (February 10). In the territory of Kashmir it is the first *Farwardîn* (March 10), and in the city gardens it is the 9th and 10th of that month, and the end of their blooming joins on to the commencement of that of the blue jessamine. In attendance on my revered father, I frequently went round the saffron fields and beheld the spectacle of the autumn. Thank God that on this occasion I beheld the beauties of the spring."²

Jehangir then describes at some length the buildings of Kashmir and its various products—fruits, silk, wine, vegetables, grains, oils, animals, shawls, cloths, dress, ways of travelling, and music. What travellers observe now about the cleanliness of the people was observed by Jehangir about 400 years ago. He says: 'Although most of the houses are on the river-bank not a drop of water touches their bodies. In short, they are as dirty outside as inside, without any cleanliness.'³

Proceeding further, one sees in Jehangir's Memoirs a somewhat detailed description of the fort of Hari Parbat and the garden attached to it which he named *Nûr-afzâ*, i.e. light-increasing.⁴

1 Ibid II pp. 141-142.

2 The *Tuzuk* by Roger Beveridge II pp. 143-44.

3 Ibid p. 148.

4 Ibid pp. 150-51.

Kashmir was known to the ancient Persians as a country of good astrologers. Firdousi refers to this fact.¹ Jehangir, in his present account of Jehangir's faith in astrology.² Jehangir, in his present account of in astrology. Kashmir, describes an accident, that happened to his child Shuja, which shows his faith in astrology.³ The child, while playing in one of the palace buildings on the Dâl lake, fell out of a window from a height of 7 yards, but was fortunately saved by having fallen on a carpet below and on a carpet-spreader who was sitting there. In connection with this event Jehangir says: "A strange thing was that three or four months before this event Jotik Rây, the astrologer, who is one of the most skilled of the class in astrology, had represented to me without any intermediary, that it was predicted from the Prince's horoscope that these three or four months were unpropitious to him, and it was possible he might fall down from some high place, but that the dust of calamity would not settle on the skirt of his life. As his prognostications had repeatedly proved correct, this dread dwelt in my mind, and on these dangerous roads and difficult mountain passes I was never for a moment forgetful of that nursling of the *parterre* of Fortune. I continually kept him in sight, and took the greatest precautions with regard to him. When I arrived in Kashmir this unavoidable catastrophe occurred. . . . God be praised that it ended well".⁴ Further on, we find the following instance of Jehangir's faith in astrology: "Pâdshâh Bânû Begam died A strange thing is, that Jotik Rây, the astrologer, two months before this, had informed some of my servants that one of the chief sitters in the harem of chastity would hasten to the hidden abode of non-existence. He had discovered this from the horoscope of my destiny and it fell out accordingly."⁵

What Jehangir says of the enormous bulk of a plane tree Johangir's ac. (chinâr)⁶ in Kashmir is worth-noting. The count of the chinârs huge shady Chinâr trees are the beauty of of Kashmir. Kashmir. I saw, both during my first visit and the second one (3rd June 1915), a chinâr at Sumbal, which, I

¹ M. Mohl, Le Livre des Rôis Vol. IV p. 704; Small edition Vol. IV p. 567.

سناره شناسان و گند آوران زکشمیر و کابل کزیده سران
ز آتش پرست و زیزدان پرست .. بر قند بازیچ رویی بدست

(Mocan's Calcutta edition Vol. III, 1280.)

² Tuzuk by Rogers and Beveridge II p. 151.

³ Ibid pp. 152-53.

⁴ Ibid pp. 159-60.

⁵ The Mogul Emperors are said to have further spread the planting of chinârs in Kashmir. The chinârs were held in reverence in Persia. Vide my paper on "The Veneration paid to the plane tree in Persia" in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VI, No. 8. Vide my Anthropological Papers, Part I pp. 200-207.

think, could easily give, to a family of 7 or more persons, sleeping accommodation on the ground within its hollow trunk which was eaten away and hollowed by age. I saw another big chinâr tree (26 June 1915) at Bijbiâra on the way to Islâmâbâd. It bears a tablet, saying "54 feet circumference at G (ground) Level." But the plane (chinâr) tree which Jehangir describes, was larger than this. He says: "In the village of Râwalpûr, 2½ koss from the city towards Hindustan, there is a plane-tree, burnt in the inside. Twenty-five years before this, when I myself was riding on a horse, with five other saddled horses and two eunuchs, we went inside it. Whenever I had chanced to mention this, people were surprised. This time I again ordered some of the men to go inside, and what I had in my mind came to pass in the same manner. It has been noted in the Akbar-nâma that my father took thirty-four people inside and made them stand close to each other."¹ Jehangir, later on, refers to a place known as Panj Brâra and to the large chinâr trees there. He says: "In the neighbourhood of Panj Brâra there is a meadow (julga) exceedingly clean and pleasant, with seven lofty plane-trees in the middle of it, and a stream of the river flowing round it. The Kashmiris call it Sathâ Bhâli. It is one of the great resorts of Kashmir."² This Panj Brâra is the modern Bijbihâra, and I think, the big plane trees referred to by Johangir are of the spot referred to by me above. It is still one of the picturesque spots of Kashmir.

It was Johangir who had further beautified the place which was beautiful in itself. We read as follows in his Tuzuk in his account of the fort Shâlamâr. of Hari Parbat built by his father: "I frequently embarked in a boat, and was delighted to go round and look at the flowers of Phâk and Shâlamâr. Phâk is the name of a pargana situated on the other side of the lake (Dâl). Shâlamâr is near the lake. It has a pleasant stream, which comes down from the hills, and flows into the Dâl Lake. I bade my son Khurram, dam it up and make a waterfall, which it would be a pleasure to behold. This place is one of the sights of Kashmir."³ Shâlamâr is still a sight of Kashmir. It was not in so good an order when I first visited it about 20 years ago. But now, the present Maharaja Sâheb has improved the surroundings by a beautiful garden. Once a week, all the fountains—and they are numerous—are made to play, and people from the city of Srinagar visit it during the afternoon. They generally go by boats, but there is also a fine road passing through pleasant beautiful surroundings.

¹ Ibid II p. 154-5.

² Ibid pp. 171-72.

³ Ibid p. 151.

We see in the following passage, Jehangir's desire that one should have his own fruit-garden. While Jehangir's fondness for gardens. speaking of the *shâh âlû* i.e.. cherries of Kashmir, he says: "Every day I plucked with my own hand sufficient to give a flavour to my cups. Although they sent them by runners from Kabul as well, yet to pick them oneself from one's home garden gave additional sweetness. The *shâh-âlû* of Kashmir is not inferior to that of Kabul; it is even better grown. The largest of them weighed one *tânk* five *surkhs*."¹ We learn, from what Jehangir says further on, that it was he who ordered the further cultivation of this fruit in Kashmir. He says: "I strictly ordered the officials of Kashmir to plant *shâh-âlû* (cherry) trees in all the gardens."²

Jehangir says: "The picture-gallery in the garden had been ordered to be repaired; it was now adorned with pictures by master hands. In the most honoured positions were the likenesses of *Hunâyûn* and of my father opposite to my own, and that of my brother *Shah Abbâs*. . . ."³

Jehangir's taste for art, as displayed in the Dal garden palaces of Kashmir.

Kashmir has several beautiful places known as *margs* or meadows, such as *Sonâ-marg*, *Gul marg*, *Kailân marg*. I had the pleasure of seeing *margs* of Kashmir. the last two(7th to 13th July 1915). These soft grassy meadows are covered, especially in the spring, with various little flowers. They are situated on higher mountains at some distance from the capital city and people go there during the summer. Jehangir thus speaks of one of them: "I rode to see the summer quarters of *Tûsî-marg*.⁴ Arriving in two marches at the foot of the *Kotal*. . . I reached the top of the pass. For a distance of 2 *koss* very elevated ground was crossed with difficulty. From the top of the *Kotal* to the *Ilâq* (summer quarters) was another *koss* of high and low land. Although here and there flowers of various colours had bloomed, yet I did not see so many as they had represented to me, and as I had expected. I heard that in this neighbourhood there was a very beautiful valley, and . . . I went to see it. Undoubtedly, whatever praise they might use in speaking of that flowery land would be permissible. As far as the eye reached flowers of all colours were blooming. There were picked fifty kinds of flowers in my presence. Probably there were others that I did not see."⁵ Of the *Ilâq* of *Kûri-marg* "

¹ Ibid p. 150.

² Ibid p. 162.

³ Ibid pp. 161-162.

⁴ "The place is the Tosh Maldan of Lawrence, 16 ". Ibid p. 163 n.1

⁵ Ibid pp. 162-168. ⁶ "Gurâs Valley of Lawrence, 16 ." Ibid p. 164 n. 2.

he writes: "How shall I write its praise? As far as the eye could reach flowers of various hue were blooming, and in the midst of the flowers and verdure beautiful streams of water were flowing: one might say that it was a page that the painter of destiny had drawn with the pencil of creation. The buds of hearts break into flowers from beholding it. Undoubtedly there is no comparison between this and other Ilâqs and it may be said to be the place most worth seeing in Kashmir." ¹

In his tour towards the celebrated stream of Virnâg, Machhi Bhavan. Jehangir stayed at Machhi Bhavan, so called, and Achval (Achi) perhaps, because it contains, even now, a bal.) number of fish I remember the noon of 27th June 1910, when I paid a second visit to the temple and entertained its fish with the delicious Bhavan bread, sold there for the purpose. A play with the fish is enjoyable. I remember having a hasty standing breakfast there on a picturesque shady spot opposite the temple on the side of the stream running from behind the temple. Perhaps it is the very spot which Jehangir refers to in his Memoirs. He says: "There is a fountain that they called Machhi Bhawan above which Rây Bihâri Chand, one of the servants of my father, built an idol temple. The beauty of this spring is more than one can describe, and large trees of ancient years, planes, white and black poplars, have grown up round it. I passed the night at this place." ²

I may say here a word of warning to modern tourists, lest what they see at the above spot at the time of their visit may disappoint them and lead them to think that the Mogul Emperor's description of the beauty was an exaggeration. The trees are grand, shady and beautiful. The springs are beautiful. The air is bracing. But at times, the ground is not kept well-cleaned. When royal personages and grandees go there the place also is kept scrupulously clean. So, no doubt, perhaps a modern tourist, who sees at present some dirt and filth in the midst of beauty, may, at times, consider Jehangir's description a little exaggerating.

From Machi Bhawan, Jehangir went to the spring of Achibal, of which he speaks as Achval. Jehangir says: "The water of this spring is more plentiful than that of the other (Machhi Bhawan), and it has a fine waterfall. Around it lofty plane-trees and graceful white poplars, bringing their heads together, have made enchanting places to sit in. As far as one could see, in a beautiful garden Ja'fari flowers had bloomed, so that one might say it was a piece of Paradise." ³

¹ Ibid p. 164,

² Ibid p. 172,

³ Ibid p. 173,

From Achibal, Jehangir went to Virnâg. He says:¹ "I pitched the Spring of camp near the fountain of Virnâg. . . . Virnâg. The feast of cups was prepared at the spring. I gave my private attendants permission to sit down. Filling brimming cups, I gave them Kabul peaches as a relish and in the evening they returned drunk to their abodes. This spring is the source of the river Bihat and is situated at the foot of a hill, the soil of which, from the abundance of trees and the extent of green and grass, is not seen. When I was a prince, I had given an order that they should erect a building at this spring suitable to the place. It was now ² completed. There was a reservoir of an octagonal shape, forty-two yards in area and fourteen *gaz* in depth. Its water, from the reflection of the grass and plants on the hill, had assumed a hue of verdure. Many fish swam in it; round it, halls with domes had been erected, and there was a garden in front of them. From the edge of the pond to the gate of the garden there was a canal 4 *gaz* in width and 180 *gaz* in length and 2 *gaz* in depth. Round the reservoir was a stone walk (*Khiyâbân-i-sang*). The water of the reservoir was so clear that, notwithstanding its 4 *gaz* of depth, if a pea had fallen into it, it could have been seen."

"Of the trimness of the canal and the verdure of the grass that grew below the fountain, what can one write? Various sorts of plants and sweet-smelling herbs grew there in profusion, and among them was seen a stem, which had exactly the appearance of the variegated tail of a peacock. It waved about in the ripple, and bore flowers here and there. In short, in the whole of Kashmir there is no sight of such beauty and enchanting character. It appears to me that what is up stream in Kashmir (*i. e.* in the upper part of Kashmir) bears no comparison with (*i. e.* is far superior to) what is down stream. One should stay some days in these regions and go round them so as to enjoy oneself thoroughly. . . . I gave an order that plane-trees should be planted on both sides, on the banks of the canal above-mentioned."

I have quoted at some length this rather long description of Virnâg from Jehangir's Memoirs, because, it is this visit of the 15th year of his reign, that the Inscription, which forms a part of the subject of my Paper, commemorates. Again, it is in the above passage, that Jehangir refers to his orders for the erection of the buildings, &c., where the inscriptions stand: "When I was a prince, I had given an order that they should erect a building at this spring suitable to the place. It

¹ibid pp. 173-74

In the 15th year of his reign, Hijri 1029 i.e. A. D. 1620.

was now completed."¹ We read all this in his account of the 15th year of his reign and the Inscription very properly bears that date. It says as we will see later on: "King Jehangir . . . did the honor of coming to this fountain-head of abundant mirror (-like water) in the 15th year of his accession to the throne" Again, as he says, that the building was then finished, it appears that he must have ordered the Inscription-tablet to be placed there during the very time he was there.

As to the origin of the name of Virnâg, we saw above what The origin of the Jehangir's information was some derive name Virnag. it from *vir*, willow, so Virnâg means willow-fountain On the subject of its origin and the legend about the origin, I will quote here from a written Hindi account shown to us here by the Pandit who acted as our guide

The spring is called Virnâg, because, according to a legend, the goddess Vitashta (Jhelum) wanted to take her rise from this place, but it happened that when she came Shiva was staying here. Thereupon she had to go back. Then, she took her rise from Vithavatn (Vithashta), a spring, about a mile to the Northwest of this place. *Verah* means 'to go back' and 'nâg' means spring. And as Vitashta had to go back from the place, it came to be called "Verah nâg or Virnâg". They say that at Virnâg they worship the Panchavati of the Gods, i.e. the five (panch) gods viz. Brahma, Vishnu, Maheshwar, Bhagwant and Ganesh.

There are two groups of springs here at the distance of about one mile from Virnâg. One is that of the Saptarishi from the seven (sapta) Rishis or saints viz. Vasishta, Augashta, Gaotama, Atri, Bardwan, Augra and Marich. This group is made of three springs. The other group is that of Vitashta and Gangi Jamnâ. Two tank are pointed out to us bearing these names. The water from the Vitashta tank (*kund*) flows to that of the Ganga-Jamnâ and thence the joint water of both the tanks, flowing out, joins that of the Saptarishi group. All the waters, so joined, form the Vitashta river. The springs of Achibal, and Virnâg and the above joint spring are said to form the springs of the Jhelum, but the joint group at Virnâg is believed to be the true main spring. As a proof, it is alleged, that the water of this group remains pure even in the rains, while those of the other two—Achibal and Virnâg get a little spoiled and assume colour, because they are believed to be some underground streams coming from a distance.

It is said, that about eight miles from here, there is a spring called Pavan Sandhyâ. The water of this spring has a flow and ebb twenty times during an hour. There is another,

¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* by Rogers-Beveridge II p. 142 n 1

about five miles distant, known as Pander Sandhya, where, in the months of Vaishâkh and Jaith, water alternately rushes forth once every hour and then stops altogether for the next hour.

From Virnâg, Jehangir went to Loke Bhawan, a spring on a pleasant spot, and thence to Andha Pâmpûr. Nag which contained blind (andha) fish, and thence by the road of the springs of Machhi Bhawan and Inch back to Srinagar. After a stay at the city, he went on an autumn tour in the direction of Safâpûr and the valley of Lâr. On the 27th of the Divine (Ilahi) month of Meher, the royal standards were raised to return to Hindustân. In this return journey as the saffron had blossomed, Jehangir visited the saffron fields at Pâmpûr "In the whole country of Kashmir there is saffron only in this place... The feast of cups, was held in a saffron field. Groves on groves, and plains on plains were in bloom. The breezes in that place scented one's brain."¹ The cultivators of the saffron took their wages in half the weight of the saffron in salt, which was not produced in Kashmir but was brought from India.²

In his account of Pâmpur, Jehangir speaks of the *kalgi*, i. e. the plumes or feathers, as one of the excellencies of Kashmir. He also refers to an order to build houses, or, what are now called Travellers' Bungalows, at each stage in Kashmir to accommodate his royal party. He then refers to a waterfall in the neighbourhood of Hirâpur. He says: "What can be written in its praise? The water pours down in three or four gradations. I had never seen such a beautiful waterfall. Without hesitation, it is a sight to be seen, very strange and wonderful. I passed the time there in enjoyment till the third watch of the day and filled my eye and heart with the sight."³

Jehangir paid a second visit to Kashmir during the 22nd year of his reign. It seems that he had formed visit to Kashmir as the intention of going there in the 18th year Emperor in 1624. commencing with 10th March 1623. He says in his Tuzuk in the account of this year: "As I was at case

¹ Ibid p. 177

² Vide Journal Bengal Asiatic Society Vol XXXII, pp. 279 *et seq.* Therein, Rev. Loewenthal gives an article, entitled "Some Persian Inscriptions found in Srinagar Kashmir." In that article, an inscription on the Jami Masjid contains a *firman* of Shah Jahan, which contains the following order: "At the time of collecting the saffron, men used to be impressed for this work without any wages except a little salt, and hence the people are suffering much distress. We ordered that no man should by any means be molested as to gathering the saffron; and as to saffron grown on crown-lands, the labourers must be satisfied and receive proper wages; and whatever grows on lands, granted in jagir, let the whole saffron in kind be delivered to the *Jagirdar* that he may gather it as he pleases."

³ Ibid p. 179

with regard to the affair of Bidaulat¹ and the heat of Hindustan did not agree with my constitution, on the second of the month, corresponding with the 1st of Safar (1 Safar 1033 H. i. e., 14th November 1623), my camp started from Ajmir for a tour and to hunt in the pleasant regions of Kashmir."²

We have no account of this visit of Kashmir in Jehangir's Tuzuk or Memoirs which are translated and edited by Rogers and Beveridge. They extend only up to a part of the 19th year of his reign. Elliot's quotations from other sources also are not sufficient. So we have to resort to the original Persian of the Iqbal-nâmeh for reference to this and the subsequent visits.

He arrived at Kashmir on the 19th of Khordâd of the 19th year of his reign, when Istakâd Khân presented to His Majesty some delicacies of Kashmir.³ On the 1st of the month Shahrivar, Jehangir was at Virnâg. In this account of the visit he speaks of this stream as "the source of the river Bihât (Jhelum)" and as "soul-ravishing place of delight and a house of pleasure of Kashmir."⁴ میرگاہی جانفرزی نزد سرای کشمیر

The author says that he does not give a description of this place as it has been already given before. From Virnâg he started on the 5th of Shahrivâr for Lahore.

In the beginning of the 20th year of his reign which fell on Jehangir's third 10th March 1624, he paid another visit to visit of Kashmir in Kashmir, of which he speaks as the garden of roses and the (seat of) perpetual 1625. spring⁵ (گلزار بیشه بہار کشمیر) He says, that, as the Pass of Pir Panjâl was covered with snow, having hunted at Bhimbar, he entered Kashmir by way of the lower hills of Punch (کریوہ پونج) or Punj. He describes at some length the beautiful flowers he saw there, and, in this description, gives a proof of his knowledge, taste and fondness of flowers. In the account of the different flowers, he says of one species, that it grows so large, that it cannot be contained in both the hands joined together. (گلش بہ بمرتبہ کلان میشود کہ در دو دست نلیجہ) Of the oranges of this mountainous place (Punch), he says, that they remain on the trees for two or three years and a tree gives

¹ From the time Shah-Jahan rebelled against his father Jehangir, the latter spoke of him as the Bi-daulat, i. e. the unfortunate.

² Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri by Roger-Beveridge, II. p. 282. Vide the Iqbal-nâmeh Bengal Asiatic Society's Text of 1865 p. 21

³ Iqbal-nâmeh p. 224, II. 20 et seq. Bengal Asiatic Society's edition of 1865.

⁴ Ibid p. 229 l. 8.

⁵ Iqbal-nâmeh p. 240 l. 19.

1,000 oranges. From Bârâmulâ, the royal party got into boats and went to the paradise-like (بہشت آئین) Kashmir. We find the following couplet in praise of the beautiful place:

باز این چه جوانی و جمال است چه افرار

زین حال که نوگشت زمین را و زمان را

i. e., "what is this new youth and beauty for this world, resulting from this new condition accrued to the land and time?" The beautiful lines cannot be well rendered into English. What is meant is this: The sight of the beautiful place gives, as it were, youth and beauty to the beholders. Both Space and Time, get, as it were refreshed.

Kashmir is known for its saffron, and they said, that the eating of it produced laughter. So, to verify this belief, Jehangir sent for, from the prison, a saffron and birds. criminal who was condemned to death for theft (دزد کشتنی) and gave him to eat one-fourth of a *sir* equal to 40 *miskâls*. It produced no laughter. Next day, double the quantity was given, but that also had no effect. The king thus proved that the common belief was wrong.

During this visit, Jehangir tried to verify what he had heard of a bird known on the mountain of Pir Panjal as *Homa* (ہما, or ہمای). The people of Kashmir said, that it lived only on bones, and is always seen in the air and very little on the ground. The king offered a prize of Rs. 500 to any hunter who would shoot a bird of that kind and bring it to the royal court. One *Jamal Khân* brought it alive, having shot it merely on one of its legs. The king ordered its crop, i.e., the food-receptacle to be brought out, so that it may be discovered what food it ate. The crop was opened and bone particles were found in it. The mountaineers explained to the king, that it always flew in the air, looking to the ground. Wherever it saw a bone, it came down and lifting it up in its beak, went high up into the air again. From there, it threw the bone on strong ground. The bone, falling on a stone, broke into small pieces which it then picked up and ate. It is generally believed that this bird *Homa* is the well-known bird *Homai* (pelican or royal eagle), which is believed to be very auspicious. It is lucky for a man if the *Homai* flies over his head. The following couplet is quoted on the subject:

ہمای بر وہ صرفان ازان تشرف دارد

کہ استخوان خور و جانور نیازارد

i. e., "Homai holds dignity over all birds, because it eats bones and hurts no animals." In strength and form, this bird is like an eagle (عقاب). The above referred to bird weighed 1037 $\frac{1}{2}$ *miskâls*.¹

¹ A *miskâl* is 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ drem.

Jehangir paid another visit to Kashmir in the 22nd year of his Jehangir's fourth reign. He started for it at the end of the 21st and last visit to year on the 21st of the Asfandârmaz. His Kashmir in 1626. Iqbâl-nâmeh says that this visit was compulsory, not voluntary (اضطراریست نہ اختیاری). Want of good health necessitated a change to Kashmir, the paradise-like land of roses, the land of perpetual spring (گلزار بیش رشک بہشت).¹ Abd-ul Rahim Khâja was given a sum of Rs. 30,000 for preparation. A female elephant with a litter was prepared for the king. His health continued to be bad during this visit. He continued to lose strength and grow weaker. He could not ride and went out for airing in a palkhi (پالکی). He lost all appetite and even gave up taking opium (افیون), which he was in the habit of taking for the last 40 years. He liked nothing but a few glasses of grape wine (انگوری). He then resolved to return to Lahore. On the way at the fort of Biram (بیرم), a hunt was arranged. Deer were driven to a place where he sat and he shot from his seat. During the course of this hunt, one of the footmen slipped, fell down a hill and died. This event and the grief of the mother of the deceased affected him, and he did not recover from the shock. From the fort Bairam, they went to Tahna and from Tahna to Rajour (راجور). He died on the way further. He asked for a drink which was brought but which he could not swallow. He died on the next day. His body was taken to Lahore and buried there.

From the Iqbâl-nâmeh-i Jehangiri or Wâkiat-i Jahangiri of Some further particulars from Mu'tamad Khan's Iqbâl had in all six visits of Kashmir. They were in the 14th, 16th, 18th, 19th, 20th and nâmeh-i Jehangiri. the 21st years of his reign.² We find from this book, that, in one beautiful place, he ordered an inscription to be put up to commemorate his visit of the place. We read the following:—

حکم شد که تاریخ عبور شکر منصور بر لوح سنگی نسبت نمایند تا
این نقش دولت در صفحه روزگار یاد گار بماند

i. e., Order was issued that the date of the stay of the victorious army may be inscribed on a stone tablet, so that the note of the auspicious event may remain commemorated on the page of time.

¹ Ibid p. 290.

² The Iqbâl-nâmeh-i Jehangiri of Mu'tamad Khan, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1865), edited by Mawlawi Abd Al Hall and Ahmad Ali, under the superintendence of Major W. N. Lees, pp. 127, 186, 213, 229, 290.

In the account of the fourth visit the following matters are noted as novelties or peculiarities :

1. A flower, not seen up to now, having three beautiful colours. It was unmatched in colours and beauty (در خوش نگی و نظر فریبی بی نظر). The flower grew so large that it could not be contained in two hands. The people of Kashmir call it *makar bush* (مکر بوش).

2. There were some orange trees, giving 1,000 oranges (نارنچ) each.

3. During the return journey, a lion was presented to his Majesty which lived with a goat in the same cage. The animal was so much domesticated in the company of the goat, that when the latter was removed, it roared and cried. The king ordered another goat of the same size and colour to be put in the cage. The lion then at first smelt the goat, and, not finding it to be its own companion, killed it. When the same goat was restored to him in the cage, the lion embraced and kissed him.

I have given Jehangir's account of his visit to Kashmir on the authority of his Memoirs, known (a) as the *Jahangir translated by Major David* and (b) as *Iqbal-nâmeh* But, there is another Persian text, styled *Târikh-i Salim-Shâhi* by Major David Price,

who translated it in 1829. There was some controversy on this work, as to whether it was genuine or spurious, a controversy in which the well-known orientalist, Sylvester de Sacy of Paris, also took some part.¹ Without entering much into the controversy, I, having been to the country twice, and having seen the force of the torrent of its river Jhelum, beg to doubt its genuineness, at least the genuineness, of some of its statements. No doubt, there is a good deal of exaggeration. For example, the Memoir, which Major Price translated, speaks in very great exaggeration of the loss of life caused by the force of the torrent of the river and of the rigour of the climate. Suhrâb Khan, the son of Mirza Rustam Khan, was drowned while bathing in the river, when Jehangir was on his way to Srinagar during his first visit after his accession to the throne. The Emperor's account in his *Tuzuk* is simple, and says nothing of any enormous loss of lives of persons sent to recover the dead body. But look to the following exaggerated account as given by the writer of Price's work : "Without enlarging further on a subject to me so painful, I sent nearly a thousand of the best swimmers into the river in the hope of recovering the lifeless body of the young Mirza, in order to give it the last mournful proofs of my affection :

¹ Elliot II, pp. 252-257.

but all search proved in vain. What became of his poor remains was never discovered. But this is not all that I have to record of this fatal river. Impatient of restraint, the unreflecting multitude plunged in heedless throngs into the stream, and perished to the number of fifty thousand persons, not having the common sense to wait until the waters should have subsided. The cold on the banks of the river was, moreover, so severe, that it was reported to me the next morning that nearly ten thousand elephants, camels and horses, had perished during the night, belonging to the imperial stables alone, independently of what belonged to the army in general. Blessed be God, for the greatest heat of the dry season, for never in the very hottest temperature, was there an instance of such extensive destruction at one time.

"The oldest and most experienced man present united in declaring, that in all that they had seen at different times and in every variety of season, it did not occur to them ever to have witnessed such severity of cold as that which this year had proved so destructive on hill and plain, to so many animals of every description.

"At the foot of the mountains of Kashmir the snow fell without intermission for seven days and seven nights, and fuel of any description was not to be procured. The army was accompanied by fakirs or religious mendicants, in extraordinary numbers, and, as they must have perished if not preserved by some immediate intervention, I ordered a lakh of camels belonging to the imperial equipment to be employed forthwith in conveying such fuel as could be procured at a distance, to camp, and these fakirs to be supplied from the very first convoy, otherwise their destruction would have been inevitable."¹ The writer seems to have had no sense of proportion in the matter of his figures. Elliot gives several instances² of exaggeration and here is one more instance. Again, from Bernier's account of his visit of Kashmir with Aurangzebe, we find, that, looking to the difficulties of the route and to the small capacity of the valley to supply provisions for a large number, the Mogul Emperors took special care to take as small a number of army and followers as possible.³

We learn from Jehangir's Memoirs, that he was fond of commemorating his visits to certain enchanting beautiful places in Kashmir by inscriptions. We notice two instances of this kind. The first occurred during the return journey via Pir Panjâl (Hijri A.D. 1029 the 15th year of

Memoirs of the Emperor Jehangir, by Major David Price (1820) pp. 139-40.
Elliot VI. pp. 257-260.

Bernier's Travels in the Mogul Empire. Archibald Constable's Translation, second edition, revised by Vincent Smith (1914) p. 301.

his reign). Jchangir went to see a beautiful waterfall and a spring at Bahramgalla, which he calls "a sight to be seen" and there "ordered that they should engrave on a stone tablet the date of the crossing, and place it on the top of the terrace."¹ We find the second instance, as referred to above, in his Iqbâl-nâmeh,² in its account of his third visit to Kashmir in 1625. After having entered into the limits of Kashmir by the Punch (Punj) route, he came to a place, where there was a very large waterfall, 50 cubits in height and 4 in breadth. He sat for an hour before it, drank wine, and, in the end, ordered that the date of his arrival there may be inscribed on a tablet. Thus, in these instances, we see the fondness of Jehangir to commemorate his visit to picturesque and beautiful places in Kashmir like that at Virnâg.

VII.

Shâh Jehân is said to have visited Kashmir several times. We find a detailed account of his first visit during the 7th year of his reign (1043 Hijri, A. D. 1633), in the Bâdshâh Nâmeh by Abdul Hamid Lahoari.³ Elliot, in his extracts from the Bâdshâh Nâmeh⁴ or Shâh Jehân Nâmeh of this author, only refers to this visit, but does not give any account of it. We read in the original an account of the four roads leading to Kashmir. Shâh Jehân went by the Pir Panjâl Route (پیر پنجال) in the Khurdâd month. The country is spoken of as nazhat-gâh (نژاد گاه) -i-Kashmir, i.e., the place of pleasure of Kashmir. It is also spoken of as Kashmir-i-delpazir, i.e., heart-ravishing Kashmir. We read the following about the beauty of Kashmir:—

ایں خطہ فودوس نظیر بحسب نزیت و صفا — و لطافت آب و جوا — و فور ریاحین و آشجار — و کدرت فواہ و ایمار — و باعہای خوش — و جزیرہای دلکش — چشم سارہای تنسیم زلال — و ڈالا بھائی کونٹر مٹاں — و آبشارہای فرح فزا — بیلا قات دلکشا — پھرین معمورہ دنیا امت (۵)

Translation.—This paradise-like country is, on account of its pleasantness and cleanliness, and sweetness of its water and air, and the excess of its herbs and trees, and abundance of fruit and

¹ *Tuzuk-i Jehangiri* by Rogers-Beveridge, Vol. II p. 179.

² *Iqbâl nameh*, Calcutta edition of the Bengal Asiatic Society, p. 242, l. 16.

³ Bibliotheca Indica series. Bâdshâh Nâmeh by 'Abd Al-Hamid Lahawri, edited by the Mawlawis Kabir Al-Din Ahmad and Abd Al-Hâkim, Vol. 1 (1867) 2nd part p. 15.

⁴ Elliot VII, p. 3.

⁵ Bâdshâh Nâmeh, Vol. I, Text, p. 21, l. 13.

fruits produce, and pleasant gardens, and beautiful islands, fountains of wholesome water like that of the fountain of Paradise and lakes like the river of Paradise, and joy-increasing water-courses and enchanting mountain resorts, the best of the beautiful places of the world.

We find from the Bâdshâh Nâmeh, that Kashmir was then, as now, the place whence there was a route to Tibet. Shâh Jehân sent from there, Zafar Khan, the Subahdâr of Kashmir, for the conquest of Tibet.¹

Shâh Jehân visited Kashmir for the second time in the 25th year of his reign (A. D.) 1650-51. He stayed at the fort of Hari Parbat, built at the direction of his grandfather Akbar. He visited the Mosque built by Mullâ Shâh Badakhshâni at a cost of Rs. 40,000. "Towards the close of the spring, on account of the heavy rain and tremendous floods, all the verdant islands in the middle of the Dal, as well as the gardens along its borders, and those in the suburbs of the city, were shorn of their grace and loveliness. The waters of the Dal rose to such a height, that they even poured into the garden below the balcony of public audience, which became one sheet of water from the rush of the foaming tide, and most of its trees were swamped. Just about this time, too, a violent hurricane of wind arose, which tore up many trees, principally poplars and planes, by the roots, in all the gardens, and hurled down from on high all the blooming foliage of Kashmir. A longer sojourn in that region was consequently distasteful to the gracious mind; so notwithstanding that the sky was lowering, he quitted Kashmir."²

Though the inscriptions at Virnâg have nothing to do with Shâh Jehân, some ruins at Virnâg are associated with the name of this visit of Virnâg. Shâh Jehân's by the people there with the name of this monarch. Near the garden opposite to the spring tank, on the left of the adjoining tonga road leading to the spring, there are several ruins, which were shown to me, as those of the hot water and cold water baths of Shâh Jehân. A ruin is shown as that of the place where hot water was boiled. We still see ruins of two pipes there. It seems, that a part of the water of the canal was carried from under the road to the baths. I am not in a position to say, how far what the people said there was true, that the ruined baths were built by Shâh Jehân. But, it appears, that Shâh Jehân also had paid visits to Kashmir.

¹ Ibid p. 281. Vide also Elliot VII p. 98.

² Inayat Khan's Shah Jahan-Nama. Elliot VII. pp. 97-8.

On proceeding from this site to the village, we pass over the ruins of some old water works. A very large stone, about 10 ft. in length, forms, as it were, a bridge over a streamlet. This is pointed out to us as that of the time of the Pândavas. Anything unusual in size is often pointed out to us in many places in India as connected with, or belonging to, the time of the Pandavas. Here is an instance of this kind.

Shâh Jehân's rule in Kashmir is commemorated by an Inscription, bearing his name and giving his Inscriptions on *Farmân* on the Jami Masjid of Kashmir.¹ Kashmir. The *Farmân* was given by Emperor Shâh Jehân on 7th of Isfandârmuz (February) and inscribed in Âdar. The year is not given but it seems that it was during his second visit of 1061 Hijri, A. D. 1650-51 that the King's *Farmân* was inscribed on the Juma Masjid. We read : "On the 4th Rajab, His Majesty paid a visit to the Mosque which had been erected in the most exquisite style of art, for the asylum of learning, Mullâ Shâh Badakhshâni."² The year 1061 Hijri began on 25th December 1650. So, the Rajab, the 7th month of that year, fell in June of 1651. It seems, therefore, that he may have issued the order before coming to Kashmir in the preceding February (Asfandârmuz), and the order was inscribed in March. On his arrival in Kashmir, perhaps, he went to see how his *Farmân* was inscribed.

The *Farmân* did justice to the following grievances of the Kashmiris : (1) There should be no forced labour for the purpose of collecting saffron. (2) A tax for wood used by the people was charged by the Subadârs, which charge was increased by the government of Itiqâd Khân. That charge or tax was abolished. (3) An impost on the growth of rice in villages "whose rental was more than 400 *kharwâr* of rice," was abolished. (4) The poll-tax of 75 *dâms* on each boatman was reduced to the previous tax of 60 *dâms*. (5) The Subadârs kept their own men in private fruit gardens to watch over the best fruits, to have them. The result was, that the owners, to avoid this, did not grow good fruits. So, this restriction from the Subadârs was removed.³

Another inscription on the same Jami Masjid refers to the belief, that if a man did some good work, not only he, but his father and forefathers got the advantage or benefit of the

¹ Rev. Loewenthal's article, entitled "Some Persian Inscriptions found in Srinagar, Kashmir." *Journal Bengal Asiatic Society* Vol. XXXIII. No. 3 pp. 287-88.

² Shah Jahân Nama, Elliot VII. p. 97.

³ *Journal Bengal Asiatic Society*, XXXIII. No. 3 pp. 289-90.

righteous act in the other world. We read at the end of this inscription, which is dated 1056 Hijri, "Oh God, pardon its builder and his father,—Oh Pardoner."¹

VIII.

François Bernier (1620—1688), a French medical man, who, after travelling in several parts of the East, joined the court of King Aurangzeb in 1659, describes at some length, in an interesting way, Aurangzeb's visit to Kashmir in 1665. He had accompanied the Emperor in this visit. The great Mogul was carried by people in his *Takht-i ravān*, i. e., a moving throne, guarded by *gourz-bardārs*, i. e., mace-bearers. The King marched with a retinue. He had a number of the choicest elephants for his baggage and also a few mules. Besides these, there were 6,000 porters or coolies to carry the baggage. In all, for the whole royal party there were 30,000 porters. They were collected by the Rajahs of the adjoining countries. The royal party was accompanied by a large number of traders who opened their shops wherever the camps were pitched. Bernier was enamoured of the beauty of the country. The praise of Kashmir has been sung by many a traveller and many a poet. As said by Bernier, during Aurangzeb's visit of Kashmir, there was "an emulous contest between the Kashmiri and the Mogul poets" for "poems in praise of this favoured land."² I have referred above to Bernier's own view about the beauty of Kashmir.

I will here say a few words on the Banihal Pass, by which The Banihal Pass the Mogul Emperors, in some of their visits, near Virnāg. crossed the Pir Panjāl range of the mountains surrounding Kashmir. If one wants to enter into Kashmir from Jaimoo he has to cross this high Pass. It is referred to by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Ākbari*. It is in the vicinity of Virnāg. It was on 30th June 1915, that I had the pleasure of going to the top of this Banihal Pass which serves as the route over the Pir Panjāl mountains. I had attempted this ascent during my first visit of Kashmir in May 1895 on foot, but had failed. We had to return all exhausted after climbing one-third the height.

¹ *Ibid* p. 286.

² Constable's Oriental Mi-cellany of Original and Selected Publications, Vol. I, Bernier's Travels (1656-1668) (1891) p. 401. Second edition revised by Vincent A. Smith 1914.

This time we went on horseback. We started at about 6-45 a.m. and reached the top at about 10-20. The path is at places so narrow, that to give way to some of the Maharaja's troops coming from Jamoo, we had to wait at one place for about half an hour. The Pass is named Banihal, from a stream of that name running at some distance from here. Jamoo is said to be 8 stages from here. This Pass is always windy. Tradition says, that the mountain is named Pir Panjál from the fact of a Pir, i.e., a saint, living here in former times. This Pir was much harassed by a person living here; and so, to punish him, he cursed him and prayed for cold wind. The man was overtaken by the wind and was killed. The wind has continued to blow here since that time. On my visit, I was showed a very large slab of stone here. It was about 8 feet long, 4 feet broad, and 3 to 4 feet thick. The Pir said his prayers on this stone. Four small hollows on the surface are pointed out to us as the place where he rested his knees and placed his hands during the prayer-ritual. The Pir had miraculously changed the direction of this big stone to enable him to turn to the Kebleh towards the *maghreb* (west). Before his advent here, and before the abovementioned event of his curse to punish his tormentor, the Pass was free from stormy winds.¹

Let us note what Bernier, who travelled in Kashmir in the company of Aurangzeb, says of the Pir and his miraculous powers of producing the winds: "The third extraordinary appearance was an aged hermit, who had resided on the top of this mountain ever since the time of Jehan-Guyre. Of his religion everybody was ignorant; but it was said that he wrought miracles, caused strange thunders, and raised storms of wind, hail, snow and rain. His white and uncombed beard was extremely long and bushy. . . . The old man was also very angry with those who made a noise. . . . He informed me that noise made thereo stirred up the most furious tempests imaginable. . . . Jehan-Guyre having upon one occasion derided his counsel, and, notwithstanding his earnest remonstrance, having

¹ There is in Kashmir another big stone which is traditionally connected with another Pir. It is near the Tulwan marg on Gulmarg. It is connected with the story of one Baba Rishi who had driven away a demon from Kashmir. The demon, in revenge, threw against Baba Rishi a big stone from the side of a distant mountain. He missed his aim, and Baba Rishi, in thanksgiving, got up over the stone and said his afternoon *namaz* or prayer over it. His foot made a mark over the stone. But, lest people may make the stone a *Zigrat-gah* or a place of pilgrimage, he overturned the stone so that people may not see his foot-mark. The Tulwan marg and the stone were visited by me on the 10th and 11th of July 1915. I found the stone to be about 18 to 20 ft. long, 8 to 10 ft. broad, and 7 to 8 ft. high. We see the *Zigrat-gah* of this Baba Rishi on our way to Baramulla down the Gulmarg.

ordered the cymbals to be beaten and the trumpets to be sounded, narrowly escaped destruction."¹

It seems, that the Pir's apprehensions about any noise whatever being made there may be wrong, but, it is quite possible, that loud noises like those of drums, &c., may very likely produce a change in the equilibrium of the weather-conditions there. The following note on the subject in Bernier's translation shows, that large noises are likely to produce such changes in mountain recesses. It says : " At the present day the bands of pilgrims who visit the Holy Shrines, situated in the lofty mountains of Kashmir refrain from chanting their hymns of praise when in the vicinity of the banks of snow, as on several occasions the effect of such reverberations of sound has been to dislodge avalanches, which swept away to destruction many men and women."²

Abul Fazl, in his *Ain-i-Akbari*,³ says as follows on the subject of the wind on the Pir Panjâl hills. " If on these hills an ox or a horse be killed, storm clouds and wind arise with a fall of snow and rain." Col. Jarret makes the following note on the subject, in his translation : " The superstition regarding the tempest of wind and snow and rain, appears to be connected with that of the *Yedeh* (يدہ) or rain stone frequently alluded to by Baber, the history of which is given by D'Herbelot. It is of Tartar origin and the virtues of the stone are celebrated in Yarkand and attested by authorities who have never witnessed them. It is said to be found in the head of a horse or a cow, and if steeped in the blood of an animal with certain ceremonies, a wind arises followed by snow and rain."

While traversing the mountain Pass of Pir Panjâl, three things recalled Bernier's " old philosophical speculations." One was the above one of the aged hermit and the tempests. The second was the experience of the opposite seasons of summer and winter within the same hour : " In ascending we were exposed to the intense heat of the sun, and perspired most profusely ; but when we reached the summit, we found ourselves in the midst of frozen snow." One often experiences some changes of temperature when he goes on the top of a hill, but here, on this lofty Pass, the change is very great. Though I had not the severe experience of Bernier to be on the frozen snow, I experienced an unusual sudden change within two or three minutes. I

¹ Bernier's Travels (1656-1665) in Constable's Oriental Miscellany, Vol. I., (1891), p. 410.

² *Ibid.* p. 410, n. 1

³ Col. Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II. p. 348.

cannot do better than quote, what I put down there and then in my note-book, on arriving at the top of the Pass. I wrote :

“ શુદ્ધના શુકરના, કે આતે આ બનીહાલ પાસની ટેંચે અને તે સાહેબ એ એશીયા સાથે લાગેથાં. ૨૦ વર્ષપર નિષ્ઠલ નિવૃત્તિને આતે તે સાહેબ લાગેથાં. શુકર તે સાહેબના ૧૧ વાગાને શુમારે ગાય થતો પવન કુકે છે. ઉપર ચહેરાં દગલેથાં કાહાડી નાખેલો તે પાછો પેહડથાં પડ્યો. ધારો થતો પવન. તડકું સુદલ નઈ લાગે. હેઠે બાગખાન અને અહીં પણ એક સુસલમાન કહે છે, કે રિયાણામાં પવનના જોરથી ડોર્ફ વખત માણસો ઉડી પડે છે, અને ખીનમાં ધસડાઈ ભરી જાય છે.”

“Thanks to God that He has brought me to-day with my two relatives to the top of this Banihal Pass. Where I had failed 20 years ago, He has brought me to-day. . . . Though it is eleven o'clock, there blows cold wind. I had to remove my coat while climbing up. I have to put it on again. Very cold wind. The (heat of the) sunshine not perceptible. The gardener down below and a Mahomedan here say, that in winter, owing to the force of the wind, at times men are thrown down and carried away into the valley and killed.”

Bernier gives an interesting account of the preparations and transport for transport for Aurangzeb's visit of Kashmir. Aurangzeb's visit He says :¹ “That a scarcity of provisions to Kashmir. . . . may not be produced in the small kingdom of Kachemire, the King will be followed by a very limited number of individuals. Of females he takes only ladies of the first rank, the intimate friends of Rauchenara-Begum, and those women whose services cannot easily be dispensed with. The Omrahs and military will also be as few as possible; and those Lords who have permission to attend the Monarch will be accompanied by no more than twenty-five troopers out of every hundred; not, however, to the exclusion of the immediate officers of their household. These regulations cannot be evaded, an Omrah being stationed at the pass of the mountains, who reckons every person one by one, and effectually prevents the ingress of that multitude of Manscdars and other cavaliers who are eager to inhale the pure and refreshing air of Kachemire, as well as of all those petty tradesmen and inmates of the bazaars, whose only object is to gain a livelihood.

“The King has a few of the choicest elephants for his baggage and the women of the Seraglio. Though heavy and unwieldy, these animals are yet very surefooted, feeling their way when the road is difficult and dangerous, and assuring themselves of

¹ Bernier's Travels by A. Constable, 2nd edition, revised by Vincent A. Smith (1914) p. 391.

the firm hold of one foot before they move another. The king has also a few mules; but his camels, which would be more useful, are all left behind, the mountains being too steep and craggy for their long stiff legs. Porters supply the place of camels; and you may judge of the immense number that will be employed if what they tell me be true, that the king alone has no fewer than six thousand. I must myself have three, although I left my large tent and a considerable quantity of luggage at Lahor: every person did the same, not excepting the Omrahs and the king himself; and yet it is calculated that there are at least fifteen thousand porters already collected in Bember; some sent by the Governor of Kachemire and by the neighbouring Rajas, and others who are come voluntarily in the expectation of earning a little money. A royal ordinance fixes their pay at ten crowns for every hundred pounds weight. It is computed that thirty thousand will be employed, an enormous number, when it is considered that the king and Omrahs have been sending forward baggage, and the tradespeople articles of every sort, for the last month."

IX.

Aurangzeb, who died in 1118 H. A.D. 1707, was succeeded by the following kings, one after another¹ :—

1. Shâh Âlum Bâdshâh, known as Bâhâdur-shâh, who died in 1123 Hijri, A.D. 1711.
2. Jâhândâr Shâh, who ruled for 11 months only, and was then killed by Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, the Jhahid (martyr).
3. Sultan Muhammad Farrukh Siyar who came to throne in 1123 Hijri, A.D. 1711. He ruled for eight years and 4 months and was then dethroned and put in prison, where he soon died.
4. Abû-l Barakât Rafi'-ud Darajât, who was declared Emperor in 1131 Hijri (18th February 1719) and who ruled for a few days.
5. Rafi'-ud Daula entitled Shah Jehan II, who came to throne on 20 Rajab 1131, May 27, A.D. 1719, and reigned only for 3 months and 2 days.
6. Muhammad Shâh Bâdshâh, known as Roshan Akhtar, who came to throne on 11 Zi-l kada 1131 H., September 1719.

We know nothing interesting, in connection with Kashmir, in the short reigns of these Mogul Kings after Aurangzeb, until we come to the reign of the last ruler in the above list. In his reign, one Mahbub Khan, otherwise known as Abdu-n Nalur Kashmiri, satisfied his enmity towards the Hindus of Kashmir, by submitting them to many indignities. This was followed by a heavy fight between two factions of the Mahomedans. These disturbances caused a damage of lacs of rupees.

¹ Muntakhabu-l-Lubâb, Elliot VII pp. 387-486.

X.

The language of the Inscriptions generally, and the use of some words especially, suggest the question of the influence of Persia upon India. The Moguls have left a powerful mark on India in various lines, and in that mark, Old Persia, which had influenced early Mahomedanism, has some indirect hand. In an interesting article, entitled "India's debt to Persia,"¹ Mr. H. Beveridge refers to some sources for this influence. Speaking generally he says: "But if Persian Muhammedans were influential in India, the followers of the old Persian faith were also powerful agents in civilizing the country. The Persian settlers in Gujrât—the forefathers of the modern Parsis—did same service to India as the Huguenots did to England. They introduced new arts and sciences and enriched the blood of the Indian nations. When we think of what the Parsees have done for India, the Huguenots for England, and the Puritans for America, we are almost inclined to think, that there is good in religious persecutions, and that, like Kingsley's 'Wild North-Easter' they drive hearts of oak seaward round the world."

Now it is the language of Jehangir's Inscription, and especially the use of some religious terms of "the Old Persian faith," referred to by Mr. Beveridge, that suggest to us some stray thoughts of this kind. Words like 'Haft-keshvar' and 'Sarush' used in the inscriptions point to the influence of Zoroastrianism upon Mahomedanism. The words have come down, as it were, in their original form from the Avesta. The first part 'hafta' in 'haftkeshwar' is Avesta 'haptā' (seven). The second part 'keshwar' is Avesta 'karshvarē' (country). The word Sarush (angel Gabriel) is Avesta Sraosha.

We find the word Sarush in another inscription of Kashmir. It is that on "a postern gate" of the tomb of Kashmir's celebrated king Zain-ul Ābadin, situated at a short distance from the Masjid of Shâh Hamdân. The inscription was put by Sultan Habib in 981 Hijri, some time after the death of Zain-ul Ābadin. The couplet which speaks of Sarush runs thus:²

گواه تعمید بنای نو شنیدم از سروش
سال تاریخش مزار نانی مسلطان حبیب

i. e., At the time of laying the foundation, I heard from Sarush the year of its date, "the second tomb of Sultan Habib" 981.

¹ Spiegel Memorial Volume, edited by me, pp. 21-22

² As given by Rev. Loewenthal in his article, entitled "Some Persian Inscriptions found in Srinagar, Kashmir" (*Journal Bengal Asiatic Society* (1865) Vol. XXXIII No. 3 p. 232.)

In the case of *Kashmir*, *Saiyad Ali* of *Hamadân* (the ancient *Ecbatana*), whose name is borne by a large *Masjid* of *Srinagar*, had preceded the *Moguls* and had been the medium of the spread of *Persian* influence. The saint's original name is *Mir Sayid Ali Hamadâni*. He died in 786 *Hijri* (A.D. 1384). This appears from the following inscription in the mosque in *Srinagar*, known as the *Masjid* of *Shâh Hamdân*¹

تاریخ وفات وی
چون شد از گاه احمد خاتم دین
ز هنر و فن و مهندسی امادین
برفت از عالم فاری دباقی
امیر ہر دو عالم آں یا مصیب

Translation--- Date of his death.

"In the year 786 from the time of *Ahmad*, the seal of religion (that is) from the *Hijri*, there went from the transitory to the eternal world the prince of both worlds, the descendant of *Yâsin* (*i. e.*, the descendants of the Prophet)."

In old *Parsee* books, for example, the *Pahlavi* *Bundehesh*, *Kashmir* is spoken of as a part of *India* and the *Sad-dar* speaks of *Kashmir* as being one of the several places where, in olden times, *Zoroastrianism* prevailed. Even later *Arab* and *Mahomedan* writers speak of *Kashmir* as being a part of *Hind* or *India*. According to *Maqoudi*,² *Kashmir* together with *Sind* and *Kanauj* formed a part of *India*.

Up to a few years ago, *Persian* was the court language of the *Durbar* of *Kashmir*. Even during my second visit of *Kashmir*, I had occasion to talk in *Persian* with a large number of people there. Even the *Hindu* *Pandits* spoke *Persian*. At one time, there were, as it were, two parties in *Kashmir*; one was that of the *Persian*-knowing *Pandits* and the other of *Sanskrit*-knowing *Pandits*. The *Mahomedan* King *Zain-ul Âbadin*, a very popular and benevolent ruler, known, and still spoken of, as "The *Pâdshâh*," *i. e.*, the king, greatly helped the study of *Persian*. It is said, that at one time, the schism was so much, that the *Persian*-speaking *Pandits* and the *Sanskrit*-speaking *Pandits* did not inter-marry. Again, the *Persian*-knowing *Pandits* could not practise as *gurus* or professional *Hindu* priests.³

¹ I give the *Inscription* and *translation* as given by Rev. J. Loewenthal (*Ibid* pp. 270-289.) Rev. Loewenthal gives two more *Inscriptions* found on this *Masjid*.

² *Maqoudi*, Chap. VII., XVI. *Elliot* I, pp. 19-23.

³ *Vide* my *Paper* on the *Pandits* of *Kashmir*, (*Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. X No. 6, pp. 461-96.)

The Moguls brought their taste for gardening to Kashmir. The Persians and from Persia. Mr. Witt, in his "Retreat of gardening. The the Ten Thousand," says: "This charming Mogul gardens of pursuit (of gardening) had been raised almost to the rank of religious duty by Zoroaster, the founder of the Persian religion, who had taught his disciples that when occupied in the planting and tending of trees useful to man, they were engaged in a good action well-pleasing to God."¹

The principal Mogul gardens of Kashmir are the Nishât Bagh and the Shâlimâr on the Dâl lake, and the gardens at Achibal and Virnâg. Sir Younghusband, while speaking of the Shâlimâr garden, says: "The Moguls certainly understood such matters. They were quite right in selecting trees of formal growth and planting them on geometrical lines, the essence of a good garden being that it should form a pleasing intermediate step between the free treatment which Nature lavishes on hills and plains, fields and forests, and that necessarily artificial object—a building made by the hand of man."²

XI.

II.—THE TEXT AND THE TRANSLATION OF JEHANGIR'S INSCRIPTIONS AT VIRNAG.

There are two Inscriptions at Virnâg. Both are on the walls surrounding the octagonal tank. (a) One is on the wall opposite to the entrance. (b) The other is on a side wall. I will first give the text of the Inscriptions.

(a) Text of Jehangir's Inscription on the wall of the octagonal tank, opposite to the entrance.

پادشاه ہفت کشور شہنشاہ عدالت گُسقرا ابوالمظفر نور الدین جہانگیر
پادشاه ادن اکبر پادشاہ فازی بداریخ سنہ ۱۵ جلوس درین سر چشمہ
فیض آین نزول اجلال فرمودند ادن ہمارت نحکم آنحضرت صورت
اقمام پافت از جہانگیرشاہ اکبر شاہ این بنا سر کشید بر افلاک
بانی عقل پافت تاریخش قصر آباد چشمہ ورنان
۱۰۲۹ھ تیری

¹ "The Retreat of the Ten Thousand" by Prof. C Witt, translated from the German by Francis Younghusband (1891) p. 17.

² "Kashmir" by F. Younghusband, p. 81.

³ Nuru-ud-din. This was also a title of Jehangir and formed a part of his name.

(b) Text of the Inscription on the wall on the right-hand side of the octagonal tank.

حیدر بحکم شاہ جہاں پادشاہ دہر
 شکر خدا که مساخت چگون آبشار و جوی
 زین جوی داده است ز جوی بہشت یاد
 این آبشار یاقنه کشمیر آبروی
 تاریخ جوی آب بگفتار شروش غیب
 از چشمہ بہشت بروں آمدہ است جوی

۱۰۳۶

(a) Translation of the first Inscription :—

King Jehangir, the king of the seven regions, the justice-spreading Emperor, father of victory, splendour of religion, the son of the brave King Akbar, did the honour of coming to this fountain-head of abundant mirror (-like water) in the 15th year after his accession to the throne. This building was completed by His Majesty's order. This building raised its head toward heaven (by the hand of) Jehangir Shah, (son of) Akbar Shah. The source of Reason (i. e. angel Gabriel) obtained (i. e. decreed) its date as *qasî âbâd chashmeh-i-Vernâg*, i. e. (May the palace of the fountain of Vernag flourish.) Hijri 1029.¹

(b) Translation of the second Inscription :—

Thanks to God ! What a (beautiful) waterfall and running stream has Haidar prepared at the order of the King of the World,² the king of the time ! This running stream has reminded us of the stream of Paradise. Kashmir has obtained fame from this stream. The invisible Sarush (angel Gabriel) mentioned the date of the canal to be : "Az chashma (i) behesht birûn âmadah ast jui," i. e., the stream has come out of the spring of Paradise, 1036

In the case of the first Inscription, the numerical computation of the letters in the line فخر آباد چشمہ ورنگ must give us the number 1029 as given in figures in the Inscription. To give us that number, we have to take two alifs for the first letter in the word آباد. The word چشمہ may be taken for شمشہر and ورنگ must be read as Virnâg which is the

¹ I. e., A. D. 1619-20, the 15th year of Jehangir's reign.

² The word is Shah Jehan (شاہ جہاں). One may, at the first sight, take the Inscription to refer to the son and successor of Jehangir, but the date 1036 clearly shows, that the word here is a common noun and not a proper noun, and that it refers to Jehangir (A. D. 1605-1628), and not to Shah Jehan (1628-1659). I will speak further on this subject later on.

form of the name we find in the Memoirs of Jehangir. With this modification, the sentence, in order to give the numerical value of 1029, must read as قصر آناد چشم و درنگ The values will be $100 + 90 + 200 + 1 + 1 + 2 + 1 + 4 + 3 + 300 + 40 + 6 + 10 + 200 + 50 + 1 + 20 = 1029$.

In the case of the second Inscription, the date of the event, as given in figures, is 1036; and so, it must tally with the chronogram contained in the last line. This chronogram has given me a good deal of trouble for numerical calculation. At first, it looks, that the whole of the last line gives the chronogram, but it is not so, because it does not give the required number 1036. Here is not a case of the addition of the numerical values of the letters, but a case both of addition and subtraction. The date, viz., 1036, can be arrived at by adding the numerical values of the letters of the words بیرون و چشم and subtracting from the result the value of the letters of the word جوی. The words بیرون و چشم "coming out" i. e. "taking out" suggest subtraction. Thus, we come to the following result:—

ج	—	..	..	..	..	3
ش	—	..	..	..	..	300
ر	—	..	..	..	..	40
و	—	..	..	..	..	5
ب	—	..	..	..	..	2
چ	—	..	..	..	..	5
م	—	..	..	..	..	300
س	—	..	..	..	..	400
						—
					Total..	1055
ع	—	..	..	..	..	3
و	—	..	..	..	..	6
ي	—	..	..	..	..	10
					Total..	19

Thus $1055 - 19 = 1036$.

We find, that the first of the two inscriptions commemorates two events, viz., (1) the visit of Jehangir to the Spring of Virnag during the 15th year of his reign, which commenced on Friday the 15th of the month of Rabi-us-Sani, Hijri 1029, 10th March 1620¹ and (2) the fact that the building round the tank was constructed at the orders of Jehangir and the inscription put up during the same year.

¹ The Memoirs of Jahangir, by Rogers-Beveridge, II, p. 130.

The second tablet on the right-hand side while entering, takes a note of the fact, that the artificial canal, in which the stream ran after leaving the above tank, was built in 1036 Hijri, A. D. 1627 by one Haidar at the orders of the then King of the World.

XII.

A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE INSCRIPTIONS.

I will now speak of several matters in connection with the inscriptions of Jehangir at Virnâg, which require to be looked into. They are the following :—

1. References to Jehangir's visits of Virnâg in the books of history relating to his reign.
2. Who is the Haidar referred to in the second Inscription ?
3. Who is the king referred to in the Inscription as Shâh Jahân ?

We find from the books of history, that Jehangir had paid several visits to Virnâg. (a) As said above, to Jehangir's visits we learn from his Memoirs (*Tuzuk*)¹ that to Virnâg. he had been there twice during the life-time of his father. These visits had impressed him with the beauty of the spring, and so, he had ordered some structures there. He says in his *Tuzuk*, "When I was a prince, I had given an order that they should erect a building at this spring suitable to the place. It was now (1029 H., A.D., 1620, the 15th year of the reign) completed."² He then describes the "reservoir of an octagonal shape," round which "halls with domes had been erected, and there was a garden in front of them." "Round the reservoir there was a stone walk."³ After his accession to the throne he paid a third visit to Virnag and gave orders for some extensive works. He says, "I ordered them to build the sides of the spring round with stone, and they made a garden round it with a canal, and built walls and houses about it, and made a place such that travellers over the world can point out few like it."⁴ Then Jehangir had a fourth visit of Virnâg, during his fourth visit of Kashmir, in the 19th year of his reign. It was on the first of Shahrivar that he visited Virnâg. We find no reference to this visit in his *Tuzuk*. Elliot's quotations also do not refer to it. But we find a reference to it in his *Iqbâl-nâmeh*.⁵ We thus

¹ *Tuzuk-i Jahangir*, by Rogers-Beveridge, Vol. I. p. 92.

² *Ibid* II, p. 173.

³ *Ibid* II, p. 173.

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 92.

⁵ Bengal Asiatic Society's edition of 1918, p. 220.

find, that Jehangir had, during his six visits of Kashmir, paid four visits to Virnâg. We find two references to his orders for the construction of the walls &c., round the spring, and of the canal, referred to in our inscriptions.

The next question before us is, Who is the Haidar referred to in 2. Who is the the second inscription as the person, who at Haidar referred to the orders of the King of the World (Shah-i in the second In- Jehan), built the canal, &c. It seems that scription. his name was Haidar Malik, and that he was an officer who was entrusted to do some canal work. We read in Jehangir's Memoirs, that in the 17th year of his reign (Hijri 1031), beginning with March 10-12, 1622, Jehangir sent this officer to Kashmir "to bring a canal from the valley of Lâr to the Nûr-afzâ garden (at Hari Parbat), giving him Rs. 30,000 for the materials and labour."¹ Haidar Malik was a native of Kashmir itself. His village was Chârdara (or Chârvâra or Chadura or Isâdur).² It appears that he was the author of a history of Kashmir. His work is referred to in another history of Kashmir.

We have in the Moola Feroze Library of Bombay a manuscript named Târikh-i Kashmir (تاریخ کشمیر) i. e., the History of Kashmir.³ The author is Muhammad Aatzim, son of Khayr Alzemân Khân⁴ (محمد اعظم ولد خیرالزمان خان). The third part of this manuscript history treats of the "Events of Kashmir from the beginning of the conquest by the sovereigns of the Chagatai dynasty of Taimur."

(واقعات کشمیر از ابتدای تسبیح ملک طیں طبقه چفتایہ نیموریہ⁵)

Therein, we find an account of Nurrudin Jehangir Badshah's rule over Kashmir. In that account, there is a reference to the history written by Haidar Malik در تاریخ خود (هیدر ملک در تاریخ خود).⁶ In the preface, the author of this Ms. history speaks of this Haidar Malik Chadurah (چادر). This Chadurah is the abovenamed village of Kashmir to which Haidar Malik belonged. It is a town situated near Srinagar. The author speaks of Haidar Malik as singing the praises of his own forefathers and ancestors and of himself (اکثر جا، بذکر آ، جادا خود کو من خود ستاری را نواختم)⁷

¹ *Tuzuk-i Jehangiri* by Rogers and Beveridge II, p. 238.

² *Ibid.*, p. 154 and n.

³ It bears No. 105. It is the 22nd Ms., described under the heading IV of History, Biography, &c (Vide p. 82 of the Library's printed catalogue by Prof E. Behatsek.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8, l. 3 of the Ms.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 294, l. 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7, l. 7.

We read the following in his History of Kashmir by Muhammad Aatzim : "Jehangir ordered the improvement and prosperity of the country and the repairation and the construction of forts and buildings and royal gardens within the fort and in the direction of the ponds, especially "Faiz-bakhsh."¹

The history names the following persons as the governors of Kashmir during the reign of Jehangir : Nawâb Kulich Khân, Nawâb Hashim Khân, Nawâb Safdar Khân, Nawâb Ahmad Beg Khân, Nawab Delawar Khân (Hijri 1027).

In the account of the governorship, a reference is made to Kashmir's great calamities from storm and fire. In one of the great fires, from 10 to 12 thousand houses were burnt. The great Juma Masjid built by Sikandar But-shekan, was also burnt in this fire. Jehangir, during his visit to Kashmir, got this Masjid repaired. Our author says, that Haidar Malik in his history says, that the Sunnis accused his ancestors of bringing about the destruction of the Masjid by fire.² So, the burden of repairing the Masjid was thrown by the king upon Haidar's father, Malik Mahmud Naji. The event is commemorated in the lines,

ملک حیدر رئیس الملک در عهد جهانگیری نهاد از نو بنا یش باز
روز عید قربانی

Translation.—Malik Haidar, a chief of the country, in the time of Jehangir, laid anew its foundation on the day of Id-i-qurbâni.

Jehangir came to Kashmir for the first time in the year 1029 Hijri by way of Punj. At that time, he had ordered Ali Malik, the brother of Haidar Malik, to clear the road, beforehand. In the time of the governorship of Nawab Itaqâd Khan (1032 Hijri), Haidar Malik had a hand in the construction of the great Juma Masjid in Punch. According to this book, Jehangir visited Kashmir seven times, (فَتْ بَار) and during every visit repaired and laid over gardens and buildings.

(ہر صوبہ ترتیب باغات و تعمیر عمارت نمود)

During the last visit, the king, at the request of Nur Jehân, appointed Haidar Malik, a permanent officer to remain in the presence of the king and gave him the title of Rais-ul Mulk Chagatai (خطاب رئیس الملک چغاتائی).³ In the beginning,

1. Translated from the Persian of the above Ms. History of Kashmir, p. 291, II. 5 et seq.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 294.

* *Ibid.*, p. 298, l. 6.

it was on the recommendation of Meher-ul-Nasa Begum, that Haidar Malik was appointed a Zamindâr of his own country (of Chadrur near Srinagar). On coming to Kashmir (Srinagar), he studied the art of repairing buildings (لاش مرمت جویی) and applied it to several buildings. This history of Kashmir thus refers to Jehangir's work of improving Kashmir.

نورالدین جهانگیر پادشاه سلطان سلیمان نام داشت بعد رفع مدعیان سلطنت تاج و تخت را زینت نخشید جلال الدین محمد اکبرشاہ بعد از نسخیر کشمیر پقده سال زیست و مه بار بکشیر آمد و ابن جهانگیرشاہ مکرر بسیرو شکار کشمیر نزول اجلال نموده است و رعیت پروری و آبادانی ملک و تعمیر و ترتیب قلعه و عمارت و باغات پادشاهی درون قلعه و بطرف قلاب خصوصاً فیض بخش بنا فرموده و چشم سار را آباد کرد و فوائد و منافع بسیار بمردم و مانع در قاریخ یکهوار و پانزده کم سال دوم از جلوس پادشاه است حکومت کشمیر بذواب قلیع خان رسیده

Translation.—Nur-ud-din Jehângir Bâdshah Sultân bore the name of Selim. After overcoming the enemies of the country, he added splendour to the crown and throne. Jalal-ud-din Mahmad Akbarshah lived for seventeen years after the conquest of Kashmir and came to Kashmir three times. This Jehângir Shâh honoured Kashmir with visits for the sake of a pleasant ramble and hunt and for the work of protecting the subjects, of increasing the prosperity of the country, and of placing in good order and proper condition the royal forts, buildings and gardens. He ordered to be put in good order the inside of the forts and the surroundings of the lakes and especially that of the spring of Faiz-bakhsh. He beautified water courses. He (thus) benefited and profited the people very much. In the year one thousand and fifteen (1015) which was the second year after the accession to the throne, the government of Kashmir passed to Nawâh Kulich Khân.

Haidar's father Hasan Malik bin Malik Muhammad Naji Charvarah was of a noble Kashmir family. Malik's history is said to have been abridged from Kalhana's Rajatarangini. He commenced his work in the 12th year of Jehangir's reign¹ (A. D. 1697). It seems, that, as he had done a similar work about five years ago, (Mijri 1031 A. D. 1622) in the royal palace at Hari Parbat near Srinagar, he was also entrusted with the work at Virnâg.

¹ Beraler's Travels, in Constable's Oriental Miscellany, Vol. I. (1891), p. 393, n. 2.

Nur Jehān, the queen of Jehangir, was, at first, the wife of Ali Kuli Beg, who had received the title Sher Afghan and who was sent to Bengal.¹ When Sher Afghan was killed in Bengal, his wife (Nur Jehān, who afterwards married Jehangir) was saved by this Malik Haidar from the hands of those who killed her husband.²

The second Inscription says that Haidar did the work at the 3. Who is the order of Shāh Jehān Pādshah-i-Dahr king referred to in (شاہ جہاں پادشاہ دار). One may, at the first the second Inscript-
tion ?

sight and thought, say that the king referred to was King Shāh Jehān. In fact, somebody at the spring led me to understand that the Inscription referred to Shāh Jehān, and that the tablet was at one time on some part of the canal and was latterly brought and put up there on the spring. But an examination of the date shows, that the word Shāh Jehān on the tablet is used as a common noun, in the sense of "the King of the World," and not as a proper noun for King Shāh Jehān. The date of the Inscription is 1036 Hijri. Jehangir died on "the 28th Safar, 1037 A. H. in the 22nd year of his reign."³ So it was he, who is referred to as the Shāh-i Jehān *i. e.* the King of the World, and as the Pādshah-i Dahr *i. e.* the King of the Time.

It seems, that the first Inscription, which bears the Hijri date of 1029 (A.D. 1620), was put up The original place of the 2nd tablet. during Jehangir's 3rd visit of Kashmir, which was the first after his accession to the throne. Jehangir says: "On Friday the 27th (of Shahrivar) I went out to see Virnāg, the source of the Bihāt."⁴ He had ordered some work to be done there during the time of his princehood. On accession to the throne, he had repeated the orders perhaps with those for some further extension. All that was done before, or during, the year. So, the date of the inscription takes a note both of his first auspicious visit as king to his favourite place, and of the completion of all his orders.

The second Inscription takes a note of the subsequent work of the canal, which carried the water of the spring from the octagonal reservoir to the garden opposite, and from there further on. What I heard at the spring seems possible, *viz.* that the tablet at first stood on some part of the canal further

¹ *Vide* Elliot, VI, pp. 402-4 for an account.

² *Vide* Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri by Roger Beveridge II, p. 154, n. 2.

³ Ikhāl-Nāma-i Jahāngiri, Elliot VI, p. 435. This Hijri date corresponds to 28th October A.D. 1627.

⁴ 1029 Hijri corresponding to about the 6th of September A.D. 1620. Tuzuk, Rogers- Beveridge II p. 70. The month was Shahrivar (*Ibid.*, p. 168). *Vide* also Wakālat-i Jahāngiri, Elliot VI, p. 373.

down, but that that part having fallen into ruins, the tablet was brought down to the tank and put up there on a part of the wall, adjoining to that on which the tablet directly referring to the tank was put up.

XIII.

III.—AN INSCRIPTION ON A TOMB ON A HILL ON THE BANK OF THE DAL LAKE.

As a supplement to this paper, I propose giving here, another inscription on a tomb on a hill on a bank of the Dâl lake. It is in no way connected with the Mogul Emperors, but it is associated with one of the stories related about the beauty of the Dâl lake, which was further beautified by the Mogul Emperor Jehangir by means of his beautiful gardens. The story is as follows:—There came to Kashmir, a young man named Dâud, a son of a very rich father, from India for the purpose of trade. Instead of carrying on trade properly, he wasted his father's money in the enjoyment of pleasure in the beauties of the Dâl lake. Abul Fazl says in his *Ain-i Akbari*, that Kashmir is “deservedly appropriate to be either the delight of the worldling or the retired abode of the recluse.”¹ This young man turned out to be a worldling, lost completely in the delights and pleasures of the Dâl lake. Under the pretext of wanting more money for trade, he sent for it from his father in India and squandered all. It is said, that he was so enamoured of the beauties and pleasures of the Dâl, that he had enjoined that, on his death, he may be buried somewhere on the lake itself. During my first visit, I had heard the story, but could not discover the tomb. I noted the story of this young man in my lecture on Kashmir before the Gujarati *Dnyân Prasârak Mandali* as follows:

“ તપ્તે સુલેમાનના કુંબર હેઠળ ધંધરીબલ નામની એક જગ્યા આપણુંને દેખાડવામાં આવે છે, જ્યાં એક વેપારી અચ્ચાની કુંબર છે, જે વેપાર અર્થે અહારગામથી આવી આ ખુખુરત સુલફની અને ખાસ કરી તેના ખુખુરતમાં ખુખુરત દાલ સરોવરની શારીરિક મજામાં બાપના લાખો હી પીચા ખરચી નાખી ખરાખ થયો હતો અને છેવટે એકાંતવાસ પકડી અંધી રહ્યો હતો. (૨)

¹ *Ain-i Akbari*, Jarrett's Translation, II, p. 348.

² I vide my “ સ્ત્રીન્પ્રસારક નિષ્પત્તો ” ભાગ ૧, પાના ૧૬૭-૮.

During that visit, I could not see the tomb itself. I succeeded to discover the tomb during the 2nd visit of 1915. It is situated on the top of a lonely unfrequented hill, a spur of the Takht-i-Suliman, near a place known as Gangribal. Mr. Nowroji Pestonji Unwala of Messrs. Pestonji & Co., of Srinagar, kindly guided me to Gangribal. He did not know where the tomb was situated. At first, we could get no definite information about the whereabouts of the tomb, though some persons said that they knew that there was a tomb somewhere on the adjoining hill. At length, a person was found who pointed out to us from below, the place on the top of the spur where I could find the tomb. Leaving my friend below, I went up the hill, taking this person as my guide and promising him a payment of 4 annas for his trouble. It was on the evening of 19th June 1915. The weather was cloudy and was becoming threatening. The guide took me to the height of about 100 feet, and pointed out a place, as the place where Dâud was buried. There seemed to be a little mound, like what we see on some unclaimed tombs in out-of-the-way places. But it struck me, that that cannot be the tomb of a man in a good state of life, whose story was traditionally known on the Dal lake. His tomb must be at least one with some pretension of brickwork. So, I refused to pay my guide, saying that he did not show me the proper tomb. And that was so. Finding that the weather was getting a little rough and rainy, and with a view to be saved from being wet and from the trouble of ascending still further, he tried to dupe me. But my stubborn refusal compelled him to take me little further up, and to show me the right tomb. I purposely speak of, and take a note of, this fact, in order that those engaged in such pursuits may be cautious, that there are many chances of not only being mis-informed, but of being shown wrong places. Suppose, I had believed this man, and then said before this Society or elsewhere, that I had seen the place of the tomb of Dâud, and that there was no regularly built tomb and no inscription thereon, and suppose some other student had followed me and had come across the proper tomb. I would have then been put to the humiliation of being accused of bragging and giving an incorrect report. To ascertain facts, such guides, at times, require to be examined and cross-examined. This Dâud is popularly spoken of here as Dalu Miân from the connection of his story with the Dal lake.

I beg to submit, for inspection, my note-book, to show a rough outline of the tomb as drawn hastily by me. The tomb seems to be one of the ordinary kind of a Mahomedan tomb. It is on the edge of a spur very little frequented. As it had begun to drizzle, and as the weather was getting unpleasant and threatening, I could not wait longer to make a better inspection.

of the tomb. I hastily copied in my note-book a few words that were easily legible. These words were *târikh* (تاریخ) and *Mirza Dâud* (میرزا داود). The decipherment of these words at least gave me the satisfaction that there was some truth in the tradition heard by me on the Dâl lake about one Dâud Miân or Dalu Miân. It gave me further satisfaction, that I had the good fortune to discover, at last, the tomb of that man, whose story I had heard during my first visit, about 20 years ago, and had taken a note of, in one of my published lectures. As a matter of fact, it turned out to be really a discovery, because the State Archaeological Department, founded a few years ago, knew nothing of this tomb. I wrote to Mr. Daya Ram Sohani, the Superintendent of the Archaeological Department, to inquire if a copy of the Inscription was taken by his Department. I was surprised to learn, that not only was the Inscription not copied, but that his Department knew nothing of the tomb itself. I requested him to kindly get an impression taken and sent to me. I reminded him of it again on my return to Bombay, and was glad to have it from him, with his letter dated Srinagar, 16th August, 1915. He writes :

"I am sending you herewith a copy of the Persian Inscription noticed by you. In the first line, we have the date ۱۱۶۲ شہر ذی حجه سنہ and the name of *Mirza Dâud*. In the second line we read مرحومت کرد which have to be construed with *Mirza Dâud*. In the second half of the same line, we read of the construction (ساخت) apparently of the tomb in which the epigraph is incised and which enshrines the remains of the *Mirzâ* named in the 1st line."

I am greatly indebted to Mr. Sohani for the impression he has kindly sent me. I produce it here, so that it may be given in our *Journal*, and others may have an opportunity to correctly decipher it. Until Mr. Sohani sent me a copy of the impression, I did not know, that I had seen only half of the Inscription. I went to the tomb from the front and saw the Inscription on that front, and, owing to haste, due to the weather, with which I inspected the tomb and the Inscription, I had no idea, that half of it continued on the other side. From the copy of the impression, which has been sent to me, and which I produce here for reproduction in our *Journal*, I give below what little I can make out.

THE FIRST PART OF THE INSCRIPTION IN THE EASTERN
FRONT OF THE TOMB.

بناریخ ۲۹ شہر ذوال حجه سنہ ۱۱۶۲ میرزا داود... مغل کے حشافی

Translation.—On the 29th of the month of Zul-Hijjah year 1162 *Mirza Dâud*... Mogul, whose last breathings (*hushâsh*).



THE INSCRIPTION ON THE BACK OF THE TOMB.

THE SECOND PART OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE BACK
OF THE TOMB.

ازین دهراں قضا رحلت کرد.....

Translation—passed away from this world of destiny.

The Hijri year 1162 began on 22nd December 1748.¹ The Hijri month is the last month of the Mahomedan year and the 29th day is the last day of that month.² So the day is the last day of the Hijri year 1162. The Hijri year 1163 commenced on 11th December 1749.³ So the day of the Inscription, which is the last day of the preceding year, corresponds with 10th December 1749. Thus the tomb is about 177 years old.

¹ Wollaston's Persian Dictionary, p. 1489. ² Ibid, p. 1491. ³ Ibid, p. 1489.

APPENDIX.

After the above paper was written and put into type, and before it is printed off, I have had the pleasure of visiting Kashmir for the third time. The tomb has been cleaned, and so the inscription is much more legible than before. I inspected it twice, once alone on 14th June, and then on 26th June in the company of Moulvi Mahamad Shâh kindly recommended to me by Pandit Hiranand Shastri, M.A., the present Superintendent of the Archaeological Department. The inscription so far as we have been now able to decipher on the spot runs thus :

(1) بتاریخ ۲۱ شهرذی حجه سنہ ۱۱۶۲ میرزا داود بیک مغل.....
..... بدار ال بتاریخ رحلت کرد میرزا بیک
..... تیرپنایش ماخت بفائزہ یاد کندہ

Translation.—On the 21st of the month of Zai Hijjah year 1162 Mirzâ Dâud Beg Mogul died (lit. went to the house of Eternity). Mirza Beg erected (this) tomb. They (i.e. the visitors) may remember him with (the recital of) a *fatiha*. The last word in the first line after the word Mogul and the first two letters of the second line seem to make up a word which seems to be a proper name signifying perhaps the country to which the deceased belonged.

The indistinct portion after the word Mirza is some proper noun, giving the name of the person who built the tomb, perhaps at the last testamentary will of the deceased. Moulvi Mahamad Shâh thinks the words to be Akbar Kabar. So, the whole name may be Mirza Akbar Kabar Beg. The tomb is just on the very edge of a spur and may perhaps go down the hill in a few years with a heavy downfall of rain. It can be protected in time at a small expense.

House Boat, Pearl, No. 306,
SRINAGAR, KASHMIR,
29th June, 1918.

ART. IV—*The Aryans in the Land of the Assurs*
(*Skr. Asūra*).

BY

SIR R. G. BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., K.C.I.E., &c.

(*Communicated.*)

1

Since the discovery¹ in Asia Minor of a treaty between the King of the Hittites and the King of Mitani in which the latter invokes Indra, Mitrāvarunā and the Nāsatyas in those forms of the names which are found in the Rk-Samhitā, the question before scholars has been where in the course of Vedic culture to place what this inscription exhibits. No satisfactory conclusion seems to have been arrived at, but one direction may be pointed out for inquiry which will enable us to arrive at a plausible solution of the problem. The inquiry should take its start from the word *Asura*. In the Brāhmaṇas it signifies a race of beings inimical to the Devas, or gods. In the Rk-Samhitā it is mostly used in the sense of “living”, “vigorous”, “powerful” and applied as an epithet to various gods such as Dyaus, Indra, Varuna, &c. But in three or four cases it denotes beings hostile or inimical to the gods. There are, however, a few passages in which what is said about the Asuras resembles that which is said in connection with the Dasyus, and there the word may be taken to denote enemies of men. In RV. VIII, 96, 9, Indra is called upon to destroy by his wheel the Asuras who are not gods or are godless. In other places the gods are said to have destroyed the hosts belonging to the Asuras Varcin and Pipru. Some gods (Indra, Agni and Sun) are called Asurahan or Asura-slayers.

In the following passages the term Asura denotes the enemies of men more distinctly. In AV. XIX, 66, 1, the Asuras are spoken of as rivals (Saptnān) by the worshipper and Agni is implored to slaughter them. If they were rivals of the worshipper, they must have been men like the Dasyus. Again in AV.

¹ See *J. R. A. S.* for 1909, page 721 ff.

IX, 2, 17 & 18, Kāma is invoked to dispel the worshipper's rivals as the gods did the Asuras and as Indra hurled the Dasyus into utter darkness. Here Asuras are compared with the Dasyus and may be like the latter the aborigines of a specific country. In A V. X, 3, 11, we have स मे शशून्वि वाधतामिन्द्रो दस्युमिवासुराम्.

Here the amulet of the Varāṇa tree is desired to "destroy the wearer's enemies as Indra did the Dasyus, the Asuras." Here Dasyus and Asuras are put together, the former characterising the latter so as to make the whole signify "the Dasyu Asuras or aboriginal Asuras," or the expression may be taken to mean "Dasyus and Asuras;" in which case it is possible to understand that if the aborigines of India wore called by the first name, the Asuras also must signify, the aborigines of some other country.¹ These quotations point to the Asuras being the enemies of the Aryan wanderers like the Dasyus and to their having been destroyed by the gods of the emigrants.

There is a passage in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya which shows that the name Asura denotes a certain class of Mlechhas or foreigners. तेऽसुरा हेलय इति कुर्वन्तः पराब्रूद्धः । तस्माद्ब्राह्मणेन न म्लेच्छितवै नापभाषितवै । म्लेच्छां ह वा एष यदपशङ्कः । म्लेच्छा मा भूमेत्यप्येव व्याकरणम् ॥² "Those Asuras uttering the words हेलयः हेलयः were baffled (were defeated)—for, say the commentators, instead of हे इ अरयः हे इ अरयः which is good Sanskrit, they omitted the long (pluta) vowel, elided the श, and changed र to ल, and thus showed themselves not to be Aryans but Mlechhas.—Therefore, a Brāhmaṇa should not act like a Mlechha (Mlechha-making). We should learn Vyākaraṇa in order that we may not become Mlechhas." Here it is clear that by the word Asura is meant a foreign, un-Brahmanic race.

¹ The word Dasyu is by some taken to mean demons or enemies of gods. But the preponderant sense being the dark-coloured aborigines of India who did not acknowledge the Aryan gods and did not obey the Aryan ordinances and whom the gods enabled the Aryans to vanquish, it must surely have led to the words having come to signify the enemies of gods. The Athareya Brāhmaṇa, which is to be referred to a period not far removed from the later hymns of the Atharva Veda, plainly and distinctly understands by the word the aboriginal races amongst which it includes the Andhras, Pāṇḍyas S'ābaras, Pūlindas and Mītibas (VII, 18). In the last two quotations in the text it is perfectly allowable to take the word Dasyu to mean human enemies or Indian aborigines; and the Asuras are contrasted with them in so far as they resembled the Dasyus in being an aboriginal people but differing from them as belonging to a country other than India.

² Kielhorn's Edition, Vol. I, page 2.

This passage occurring in Patañjali's work must have been taken from some Brähmana which has not been traced yet. But there is a similar passage in the Śatapatha Brähmana (III, 2, 1, 18-24). The gods and the Asuras, it is said, sprang, both of them, from Prajāpati and entered upon their father's inheritance. The gods came in for the mind and the Asuras for speech. Thereby the gods came to have the sacrifice and the Asuras speech only ; the gods came to have the yonder world (the heaven) and the Asuras this (earth). Thereafter the gods contrived to deprive the Asuras of the speech which they had inherited from Prajāpati and when this was effected the Asuras uttering " he lavaḥ, he lavaḥ " were baffled. " Such was the unintelligible speech which they then uttered,—and he (who speaks thus) is a Mleccha (barbarian). Hence let no Brähmana speak barbarous language (न म्लेच्छत्) since such is the speech of the Asuras,"¹ (असुर्या हैषा वाक्). Here I lay stress on two statements. The heaven was assigned to the gods and the earth to the Asuras is one of them. It means that the Asuras were the denizens of this earth. The second statement is that the Brahmins are enjoined not to act like Mlecchas, *i.e.*, not to speak Mleccha language. For it is Asurya speech or the speech of the Asuras. These show that the Asuras were regarded as dwellers of the earth, and as speaking a Mleccha language ; and consequently were Mlecchas or foreign barbarians. Who then were these Asuras, who dwelt on the earth, were Mlecchas, were rivals or opponents of the Aryans and are compared with the Dasyus or aborigines of India, who contested the passage of the Aryans throughout India ? The answer is supplied by the Inscription under notice.

Now the King of Mitani and the people over whom he ruled inhabited the northern portion of the plain between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Their neighbours were thus the Assyrians or Assuryans, if the Greek vowel which is generally represented by *y* may be transliterated by *u* as is often done. Amongst the Assyrians we find such names as Assur-bani-pal, Assur-Nazir-pal, Tiglath-pileser, &c. The name Assyria itself is said to have been derived from Assur, the name of the ancient capital of the country and of its god. Assyria corresponds to *Asuryāḥ* as applied to *Lokāḥ* in the Isāvāsyopanishad (Verse 3) and may be regarded as meaning the country of the Asuras. Thus then it is not unlikely that just as in India the progress of the Aryans was

¹ Eggeling's Translations, Pt. II, S.B.E., page 32.

contested by the Dasyus, so was it contested by the Asuras of Assyria and they were thus compared with the Dasyus in some of the passages quoted above. That the Assyrians were Mlecchas according to the ideas of Hindus is plain enough. In later times especially when the Aryans settled in the region of the five rivers and afterwards when their religious system was developed in Brahmaputra, the reminiscences of the human Asuras and the fights of the Aryans with them, and their civilization led to the whole subject having transformed itself into a myth of the determined enmity between the *Devas* and the Asuras. It is said that the enmity resulted from a schism between the Avestic people and the Vedic people as regards the gods worshipped by them. The Devas worshipped by the Brahmins were stigmatised as demons by the Iranians and the Indians repaid the compliment by representing the Ahuras or Asuras as *fiends*. But the objection to this is that Ahura is in the Avesta the name of the Supreme Lord Ahura-mazdā and the name does not denote a whole race of beings though it may be applied to two or three angels. The explanation, therefore, that our mythical Asuras represent the Asuras of Assyria seems more plausible. Thus the word *Asura* first (1) signified a "living spirit" "of wonderful power," and was used as an epithet of the gods, even of the most ancient of them *Dyaus*. Then it came to denote (2) a human being hostile to the wandering Aryans and the reason why it acquired this sense is that they came in contact with the Asuras of Assyria as is shown by the inscription under discussion. This led in later times to the sense (3) of a race of mythical beings hostile to gods. Without the implication of hostileness the word came to denote (4) a Mleccha or a foreigner of that name. This is shown by the quotation from *Patañjali* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and also by the name of *Mayāsura* to be mentioned below. The word *Asura* in the first sense appears entirely distinct from that which has the three last senses.

In AV. VI, 108, 3, we are told of the wisdom which the Asuras possessed. They are credited with the possession of *Māyā* or magical power in AV. VI, 72, 1. The *Srauta Sūtra* of *Āśvalāyana* (X, 7, 7) speaks of an *Āsuri* *Vidya* as the *Veda* of the Asuras who constitute the subjects ruled over by a king of the name of *Asita Dhānva*. The *Āsuri* *Vidya* is unquestionably magical skill and knowledge. *Maya-Asura* who had located himself in the *Khāndava* forest knew architecture and constructed an Audience Hall or a palace for the *Pāṇḍavas* in return for *Arjuna's* having saved his life while the forest was burning. Dr. *Spooner*, *Archæological Superintendent, Bengal*

Circle, ridiculously enough traces the name Asura-Maya to a reminiscence of the great god Ahura-Mazdā, thereby converting him into a craven creature that had taken refuge in the Khāṇḍava forest. The Assyrians, we are told, cultivated the art of architecture and were known for their skill in building ; and it is more reasonable to trace the name of the architect of the Pāṇḍavas to an Assyrian or Asura proficient in architecture.

But the question arises if the Vedic Aryans were as the inscription shows, the neighbours of the Assyrians of the 15th century B.C., about what time did they migrate to India and settle in the land of the five rivers. If they took about 500 years to reach the latter country and began their Vedic culture, i.e., the composition of the hymns and systematising of the sacrificial worship, after that period, the time that elapsed between this event and the rise of Buddhism in the 6th century B.C. is too short for the innumerable incidents that marked the progress of the Indians from the Vedic stage to the Buddhistic stage. This objection is certainly of great weight and to meet it we must resort to the theory of Brunnhofer that all the hymns were composed not in the Punjab ; but Vedic poetry began when the Indian Aryans lived in a more northerly region. It is "the work of the poets of North Iran from the Caspian Sea to the Punjab." I should, however, correct this North Iran into North Mesopotamia or the region thereabouts. If my derivation of the word Asura from the name of the inhabitants of Assyria is correct, the Aryans must have lived in their neighbourhood for a very long period since the whole literature from the latest portion of the Samhitas and the subsequent literature is full of Asuras and incidents connected with them, showing that they had made a strong, indelible impression on the mind of the Aryans. The Vedic Rishis cannot be considered to have been in a condition of literary inactivity during their wanderings from their original home, wherever it was, and suddenly thrown into a literary mood after they reached the Punjab. The object of those who collected those hymns into ten Mandalas of the Rig Veda and twenty Kāṇḍas of the Atharva Veda was to look for any piece of composition existing in any corner of the Aryan country or in any family ; and comparative antiquity of composition was not taken into consideration in arranging them, but other principles such as the identity of the deity and the number of verses were resorted to in forming the present collection. Then ten Mandalas and the twenty Kāṇḍas, therefore, may very well be taken as comprising all the hymns and stanzas composed since the time the Aryans lived in their original home, whether in the north of Mesopotamia or

elsewhere and went on wandering until they settled in the land of the five rivers. By the middle of the 15th century B.C. the Indian Aryans had progressed so far in the development of their religion as to conceive of five deities, one single and four arranged in groups of two each. These groups along with the grammatical forms of the names are exactly as they exist in the Rig Veda. A great deal of hymnal literature must have gathered round those names by that time ; and its origin may with Brunnhofer be pushed back to about 2500 B.C. The question remains whether the Indian Aryans settled in the Punjab before the date of the inscription or afterwards. The Aryans appear in India as divided into a number of tribes. Some tribes may have migrated before the 15th century B.C., but those who lived in the neighbourhood of Assyria must have gone afterwards. But that they did go is unquestionable. For they preserved the memory of their struggles with the Asuras who are compared to the Dasyus of India and of such other points about them as have already been detailed. Their memory, however, of the Asurya-Loka was certainly not agreeable to them. For they speak of it as enveloped in stark darkness to which those who commit suicides are sent.¹ The Mādhyandin recension² of the Brīhadāraṇyakopanishad condemns the ignorant to those regions and that of the Kāṇvas³ forgets that it was the Asurya country and gives its general character only by calling it *Anan-dah* or the joyless country.

I have thus simply indicated a new line of research. To work it out fully by comparing all the necessary passages in the Vedic literature and also comparing what we find therein with what the Assyriologists have to tell us, is a task that at my age with my eyesight considerably impaired is beyond my power. It will, of course, be taken up, if found to be a sound and a promising line of research, by intelligent and accurate scholars, who, I see, are coming forward and who will maintain our reputation for critical scholarship and will carry on the work of research amongst us in a manner to win the appreciation of the great scholars of the West.⁴

¹ See the verse referred to above from the *Śaṅkalyopanishad*.

² IV, 4, 14, page 45 of Boht. Edition.

³ IV, 4, 11.

⁴ The above constitutes in a somewhat expanded form the observations I made at a meeting of the Poona Literary and Philosophical Club held on the 15th August 1917 in connection with the paper read by D. & K. B. Ivalkar on "Devas and Asuras."

ART. V—*A Brief History of the Gujarat Sultanat.*

BY

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(*Communicated.*)

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I.—Introductory—The Early Musalman Governors and the Foundation of the Gujarat Saltanat, A.D. 1298-1403.

“As it was the desire of the Eternal and Unchangeable One that the light of Islam and the practice of the one law should be made manifest in these parts, the rule of the three races of infidel kings came to an end, in order that the throne might pass into the possession of the people specially endowed with the faith of purity and the law of patience, and in order that the light of the sun of the true faith should flash from all four quarters on the obscurity of unbelief. This came to pass when Ala-ud-din was established on the throne of Delhi.”* In these magniloquent words does the bigoted author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadī* introduce his readers to the story of the establishment of the Musalman power in Gujarat; after the extinction of the “three races of infidel kings”, namely, the rulers of the Chavada, the Solanki and the Vaghela dynasties.

In A.D. 1298, in the very last years of the thirteenth century, Ulugh Khan, the brother of Ala-ud-din Khilji, Sultan of Delhi, conquered Gujarat for the Delhi Empire, and ushered in the long period of Muhammadan supremacy in the province, which lasted till the advent of the Marathas in Gujarat in the middle of the eighteenth century.† Karna Vaghela, popularly known as Karan Ghelo, was the last and most unfortunate of the Rajput sovereigns of Gujarat; but “the clansman of Bhim Dev, the rightful successor of the lion-hearted Siddh Raj” offered to the invaders a brave, though unavailing, resistance, and retained to the last, amidst all his misfortunes, a sense of the dignity of his race. The loss of his kingdom was made even more bitter to Karan by the loss and dishonour of his family. His beautiful queen Kauladevi, who had been captured at the fall of Anhilvad in 1298, was carried to the imperial harem, and became the favourite Sultana of King Ala-ud-din. His more beautiful daughter Devaldevi was, after many vicissitudes, taken captive to Delhi in 1306, where, after some years, she was married to the heir-apparent. The poet Amir Khusru of Delhi has, in his celebrated poem *Ishqia*, immortalised the loves of Khizr Khan and Devaldevi.

After the defeat of Karan and the capture of Anhilvad Pattan in A.D. 1298, the Afghan armies proceeded to destroy Siddhpur and Somnath, and to sack Cambay—among the slaves captured at this place being Malik Kafur, the eunuch who became the

* Sir E. C. Bayley, *History of Gujarat*, pp. 36-37.

† This long period of Musalman ascendancy in Gujarat, extending over 460 years, naturally divides itself into three parts, viz., (1) the rule of the governors of the early sovereigns of Delhi (A.D. 1298-1403); (2) the rule of the Ahmadabad Sultans (A.D. 1403-1573); and (3) the rule of the Mughal Viceroys (A.D. 1573-1758).

all-powerful *vazir* of Sultan Ala-ud-din in his later years. The resistance of Karan was finally broken in A.D. 1306, after which date he disappears from history. Even when the authority of the conquerors was definitely established, their direct sway appears to have been restricted to the principal towns from Jhalor and Pattan in the north to Broach and Surat in the south, and, at times, "they possessed little more than the encamping ground of their armies." For a century after the fall of the Vaghelas, the province of Gujarat remained an appanage of the Empire of Delhi, under the Sultans first of the Khilji and then of the Tughlak dynasty, and was administered by *nazims* or governors appointed by the central authority. Pattan Anhilvad remained throughout this period the seat of the imperial governors; but the seeds of the decay of the city had by this time been sown, and some of its finest edifices were destroyed by the conquerors to supply materials for their mosques and public buildings. With the Hindu rulers of the mainland and of peninsular Gujarat, the Afghan governors carried out a series of desperate struggles in order to make them either subject or tributary. In Saurashtra, or Sorath, the descendants of Ra Khengar continued to maintain their ancient love of freedom; to the east, the centres of resistance were the Rathors of Idar and the Gohils of Champanir; and in the centre, near Sanand, the representatives of Karan still held much of the country.* Apart from these struggles with the Hindu chiefs, the whole dreary period of a hundred years is unrelieved by any event of historical importance, except that, from 1347 to 1350, the great Emperor Muhammad II Tughlak was personally in Gujarat engaged in suppressing a formidable insurrection created by a band of powerful Musalman adventurers and freelances under the leadership of Malik Tughan. The records of the early Musalman governors of Gujarat "show suspicion on the side of the Delhi court and disloyalty on the part of more than one viceroy, much confusion throughout the province, and little in the way of government beyond the exercise of military force."†

But the material condition of the people of Gujarat, on the eve of the Muslim conquest, appears to have been, on the whole, prosperous, as can be gathered from the allusions of foreign travellers or the meagre references of the Muhammadan historians when they allow themselves to be diverted from the all-absorb-

* The royal line of the Vaghelas in Gujarat was, after the Muhammadan conquest, represented by the chiefs of Kalol and Sanand. It now survives in the person of the Chief of Sanand, one of the principal Talukdars in the Ahmadabad district.

† *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 217.

ing vocation of chronicling never-ending military campaigns. Marco Polo, who was in these parts about A.D. 1292, says, "In Gujarat there grows much pepper and ginger and indigo. They have also a great deal of cotton. The cotton trees are of very great size, growing full six paces high, and attaining to an age of twenty years."* Again, Gujarat of about the year A.D. 1300 is thus described : "The air of Gujarat is healthy, and the earth picturesque; the vineyards bring forth blue grapes twice a year, and the strength of the soil is such that the cotton plants spread their branches like willow and plane trees, and yield produce for several years successively. Besides Cambay, the most celebrated of the cities of Hind in population and wealth, there are 70,000 towns and villages, all populous, and the people abounding in wealth and luxuries."†

We shall now turn to narrate the circumstances under which was brought about that memorable revolution, so fraught with consequences, which led to the overthrow of the authority of Delhi, and the establishment of a powerful independent Muhammadan Kingdom in Gujarat. In 1351 died, near Thatta on the Indus, during an expedition against the refractory Sumra Rajputs of Lower Sind, the eccentric but powerful Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlak, leaving behind him a vast Empire which, already before his death, was showing signs of dissolution owing to the rebellion of distant provinces. The weight of this imperial inheritance was worthily maintained, for the next thirty-eight years, by his cousin and successor Firuz Shah (A.D. 1351-1388), and it was during the reign of this Emperor that Zafar Khan, the future founder of the independent Gujarat Saltanat, rose to fame and eminence. The story of the rise of Zafar Khan's father, as related in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, is not without a touch of romance. It says that Prince Firuz, when heir-apparent, went on a hunting expedition, during which he wandered from his companions and lost his way, and at length found shelter in a village of the taluka of Thanesar, in the Sirhind division of the Punjab. The chief men of the place were two brothers, Sadhu and Saharan by name, men of consequence and influence, who belonged to the Tanka tribe of the Rajputs. The prince was hospitably entertained by the two brothers, and fell in love with their sister, "peerless in beauty and loveliness." After he had satisfied his hosts about his rank and family, he was offered the young lady in *nikah* marriage, and set out for Delhi, accompanied by the two brothers, who had decided to follow his fortunes. Shortly after, both the brothers "obtained the honour of

* Marco Polo, Yule's Edition, II. 328.

† Elliot, History of India, III, pp. 31, 32 and 43.

Islam," and, such was the piety and newly-kindled zeal of Saharan, that he received at the royal court the title of *Waji-ul-Mulk*, "the Support of the State." When Firuz Tughlak ascended the throne of Delhi in A.D. 1351, Zafar Khan and Shams Khan, the two sons of Saharan, were, as nephews of the queen, promoted to the rank of nobles, and appointed to the office of cup-bearers (*Ohda-i-sharabdarī*).

After some months of domestic strife consequent on the death of Firuz Shah in 1388, his son Muhammad Shah III Tughlak succeeded in obtaining sovereign power at Delhi for four years (A.D. 1389-92), and it was in this reign that Zafar Khan was appointed to the viceroyalty of Gujarat in 1391, in succession to one Farhat-ul-Mulk Rasti Khan, whose loyalty to the throne of Delhi had fallen under grave suspicion.* As Firishta records, Zafar Khan received, on the eve of his departure for Pattan Anhilvad, the seat of his viceroyalty, the title of Muzaffar Khan, and had an almost royal send-off, being presented with the white canopy and scarlet pavilion, such as are exclusively used by kings—a fitting presage of his future greatness. He defeated the rebellious governor, and under his strong rule the province of Gujarat attained a high degree of prosperity.

On the death of the Sultan Muhammad III Tughlak in 1392, the floodgates of anarchy were thrown open in Hindustan, which ended in the break-up and extinction of the once powerful empire of the Tughlaks. Taking advantage of the civil strife between the claimants to the throne, and the resultant confusion, the terrible Timur Lang (Tamerlane) crossed the Indus in 1398, and led the hordes of Central Asia on that bloody expedition "which for a time converted Hindustan into shambles." The utter prostration of the central authority, consequent on Timur's invasion, supplied the necessary impetus to the centrifugal forces which were tending to the dismemberment of the empire of the Tughlaks, and among the many provinces which asserted their independence, under their several governors, was that of Gujarat.

* Of Farhat-ul-Mulk, the historian Firishta says that "he promoted, rather than suppressed, the worship of idols." That the Muhammadan viceroy of one of the most important of the imperial provinces should have thus sympathised with the Hindus during a period of high religious fanaticism in India, was no doubt an unusual circumstance. It is very possible that Farhat-ul-Mulk designed to establish his independence, and, as a preliminary measure, made friends with the martial Rajputs, by allowing them free exercise of their faith. His conduct excited the suspicion of the learned and religious men in the province, and they despatched petitions to the Emperor for his removal, with the result that the viceroy was recalled and Zafar Khan appointed in his place. The latter proceeded to Gujarat, where he was opposed by the 'unruly ruler' (*Nazam be Nizam*) with an army of Hindus. These were defeated in an action at the village of Kambholi in the district of Pattan, and Farhat-ul-Mulk was slain (1392). Zafar Khan gave orders that a town should be founded on the field of the battle. It was called Jitpur, or 'the town of victory.'

II.—Sultan Muhammad Shah I. (A.D. 1403) and Sultan Muzaffar Shah I. (A.D. 1407-1410).

It was not Zafar Khan, however, but his son Tatar Khan who first assumed, during the lifetime of his father, an independent sovereign authority in Gujarat. This Tatar had been detained in 1391 at Delhi, when Zafar Khan received the viceroyalty of Gujarat, probably to secure the loyalty of his father. During the civil wars consequent on the death of Sultan Muhammad III Tughlak, Tatar Khan had aspired to the imperial throne, been worsted, and forced to seek refuge at his father's court at Anhilvad Pattan. Finding that his father was obdurate in resisting his ambitious designs for another attempt on the throne of Delhi some years after Timur's invasion, Tatar basely seized his person, and, placing him in confinement at Asawal, assumed regal state and dignity in Gujarat under the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah (1403). His usurpation lasted, however, for the brief period of two months, as his father caused poison to be administered to him when, in furtherance of his cherished designs, Tatar was on the march towards Delhi. Thus, in the very moment of its birth and independent existence, the Gujarat Saltanat was stained in blood, and the dark crime of Zafar Khan was repeated again and again by his posterity: nor, as we shall see, did he himself escape the penalty of his deed.

Zafar Khan, it must be admitted, was not ambitious of regal power, and, liberated from his confinement, he would have preferred to continue in semi-independent charge of the province of Gujarat as governor. But, in 1407, nearly four years after the death of his son, he was induced by his nobles to assume the style and insignia of a sovereign ruler. "When the striking of coin and supreme authority", says the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, "were no longer exercised by the house of Delhi, the nobles and officers represented to Zafar Khan, at an auspicious time and favourable moment, that the government of the country of Gujarat could not be maintained without the signs and manifestation of kingly authority. No one was capable of wielding regal power but himself. * * * In compliance with this requisition, in the year H. 810 (A.D. 1407), three years and seven months after the death of Sultan Muhammad, the victorious Zafar Khan raised the umbrella of royalty, and took to himself the title of Muzaffar Shah at Birpur."* The three years of Sultan Muzaffar's reign (A.D. 1407-1410) were not marked by any important event. Already before his assumption of royalty, he had nominated his grandson Ahmad Khan, son of the Sultan

Muhammad, a youth then but fourteen years old, as his successor; and the tragic circumstances under which Sultan Muzaffar Shah met his death at the hands of his more famous grandson are thus recorded in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*. Some Kolis near Asawal having risen in rebellion, the Sultan sent his grandson Ahmad with an army from Pattan to subdue the revolt. After completing a single march from the capital, the prince convened an assembly of learned men, and asked them whether a son was not bound to exact retribution from his father's murderer. All stated in writing that a son was so bound. On the strength of this decision Ahmad immediately returned to Pattan at the head of the troops, and presented a cup of poison to the Sultan to drink. "Why so hasty, my boy!" remonstrated the old man, "a little patience and power would have come to you of itself, for all I have is intended for you." The words fell on unheeding ears, and the old king raised to his lips and drained the cup of death, after counselling the prince to punish the evil advisers who had prompted the foul deed, and to drink no wine, "for such abstinence is proper for kings." According to other authorities, Sultan Muzaffar, falling ill, abdicated the throne in favour of his grandson, but the circumstantial narrative of Sikandar, given above, can hardly be dismissed as a fabrication. In this unfortunate manner perished the founder of the illustrious line of the independent Sultans of Gujarat, after exercising a strong authority over the province for nearly nineteen years, first as governor and subsequently as Sultan.

Muzaffar Shah conducted many campaigns against the Rajputs during his long rule in Gujarat, and the son of the apostate Saharan appears to have been anxious to make his Rajput origin be forgotten by fierce hostility against the Hindus. The sacred temple of Somnath was once again, during his governorship, the victim of the religious bigotry of the champions of Islam; for it is recorded that he destroyed the temple, built a masjid, appointed kiazis, muftis, and masters of the law, and established Islam on a firm basis in the ancient and venerable seat of Someshvar Mahadev (1395). In 1407 Muzaffar Shah conducted a great war against Sultan Hoshang (Alp Khan) of Malwa, who was suspected of ascending the throne by poisoning his father Dilawar Khan. As Muzaffar had been on very friendly terms with Dilawar Khan, when they served together under Firuz Shah Tughlak, he made the revenge of his murder the reason for invading Malwa. Hoshang was defeated and taken prisoner, and his kingdom put in charge of one Nasrat Khan, a relation of the Gujarat Sultan. Finding, however, that the people of Malwa were impatient of his rule, and that the Malwa nobles

had placed a near relative of Hoshang on the throne, Muzaffar Shah thought it prudent to restore his royal prisoner, who had long begged of the Sultan "to release him from the chains of imprisonment, and to bind him with the chains of obligation."

III.—Sultan Ahmad Shah I (A.D. 1410-1442).

On the murder of his grandfather, Prince Ahmad succeeded to the throne under the title of Ahmad Shah, and began that illustrious reign, the glory of which has shone undimmed for five hundred years. "Though thus the third Sultan of the dynasty," says Dr. Taylor, "his long and brilliant reign of thirty-three years, his introduction of an admirable system of civil and military administration, his successful expeditions against Junagadh, Champanir, Idar, and Malwa, his building of Ahmadabad as his capital, all combined in the process of years to invest him with eponymic honours, so that from him the Saltanat is known to-day by the name of Ahmad Shahi."* Not without justice, therefore, has he been regarded as the virtual founder of the dynasty "which was to maintain in Gujarat for nearly two hundred years a sway brilliant in its military enterprizes and in the architecture with which it adorned its capital, but precarious, ever disputed at lavish cost in blood and treasure, and never effectually established throughout the province."†

More than on anything else the title of Ahmad Shah to immortal fame in the page of history rests on his foundation of Ahmadabad, the proud city on the banks of the Sabarmati which he made his capital, and which has maintained, through the vicissitudes of the last five centuries, its position as the metropolis of the province of Gujarat. It was in A.D. 1411 that Ahmad Shah, with the advice and assent of his spiritual adviser and the holiest man of his court, the saintly Shaikh Ahmad Khattu Gajj Bakhsh, began the work of laying the foundation of Ahmadabad in the vicinity of Asawal. Among the reasons which led the Sultan to select this site are mentioned his partiality for the air and soil of the place; his infatuation for the lovely daughter of Asa Bhil, the famous robber-chieftain, whose hold was Asawal; and his desire to commemorate the spot where, on a hunting expedition, he had seen the rare sight of the hare turning on the hounds and assailing them fiercely. According to Hindu tradition also, the Solanki Raja Karna (A.D. 1034-94), after defeating a Bhil chief, named Asa, at Asapalli, laid on the site of the victory the

* Dr. Geo. P. Taylor, *The Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat*, (Jour. Num. Br. Roy. Ass. Soc. 1902. Vol. XXI). † Hope and Ferguson, *Architecture of Ahmedabad*, p. 26

foundation of the city of Karnavati. We thus find that the name of Asa Bhil is connected with two events separated by an interval of more than three centuries, and it is reasonable to presume that the Musalman historians of Gujarat were applying to the city which Ahmad founded some of the ancient Hindu legends about Karnavati. There are, however, sufficient grounds for assuming that the earlier city of Karna, and the later one of Ahmad, were both established on approximately the same site, the immediate vicinity of Asawal.*

It is recorded that the four boundaries of the new capital of the Gujarat Sultanat were lined out by four Ahmads who had never missed the afternoon prayer.† The first was that " Pole-

* Asawal had for long been a place of importance before Sultan Ahmad founded his new city on its site or in its neighbourhood. Al Biruni (cir A.D. 1030) mentions it as one of the principal places in Gujarat. At the end of the eleventh century Karna Solanki, King of Anhilwad (1064-1094), established his new city near its site, and named it Karnavati or Srinagar or Rajnagar. (*Ras Mala*) According to Edrisi, Asawal was in 1150 a well-peopled, trading, manufacturing and rich town (Jaubert, Edrisi, I 170, 174, 176) Here the great Emperor Muhammad bin Tughlak halted when he came to suppress the insurrection of the foreign Amirs in Gujarat (1347) Sultan Muhammad I, the father of Ahmad Shah, made Asawal his capital during his all too brief tenure of royal power in 1403. (Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, p. 8) Finally Sultan Ahmad in 1411 made it his capital and transformed it into Ahmadabad. The modern suburb of Asarva, to the north-east of the city-wall, probably represents part of the early city of Asawal. But the presence of *Asa Bhil's Mound*, close to the Mosque of Ram Sipari, near the Astodiy Gate (Briggs, *Cities of Gujaratashtra*, p. 245-46) and the fact that, in 1848 at least, *Asa Bhil* formed one of the wards or *Mahallat* of the city (*ibid.*) go to show that the old town of Asawal did not wholly remain outside the walls of Ahmadabad. The well of *Mata Bhavani* at the village of Asarva is probably the oldest existing monument in Ahmadabad, and, along with the temple of Bhadra Kali, a remnant of the ancient city of Asawal (Karnavati).

† The following interesting account of the popular traditions connected with the foundation of the new capital of Sultan Ahmad is given by Dr. Geo. P. Taylor:—

"The transference of the capital of the Kingdom from Anhilwad Pattan, for six centuries the seat of Government, to a new locality distant more than sixty miles, was not a matter to be undertaken lightly, and hence sanction was sought not only from lords temporal but from lords spiritual. We are expressly informed that for this purpose 'the assent and leave of that Moon of the Faithful and Sun of the Righteous,' Shaikh Ahmad Ganj Baksh, was received. But through him application was made to a spiritual authority far, more venerable, to wit, the mysterious personage known to Muslim hagiographers as Al-Khidr Khwaja. Reputed to be of the family of Noah, and the son of a king, he is said to have descended to the regions of darkness (Zulamat), where he discovered the Fountain of Life and quaffed its waters. And so he who had lived in the days of Abraham is still alive in the flesh and may occasionally be seen in sacred places such as Makka and Jerusalem. By some Muslim divines he has been identified with the prophet Elijah, and by others with St. George, the patron Saint of England. Now by the aid of the holy Shaikh Ahmad this ghostly being was invoked to appear, and from him permission was obtained to found a city on the site desired. But the sanction was coupled with the strange condition that four men, all bearing the auspicious name of Ahmad, be found, each one of whom should, on no single day, have omitted the observance of what we may call the 'canonical' noon-day prayer. The Saint and the Sultan themselves had each fulfilled this condition, and a search through (Gujarat yielded other two, a Shaikh and a Mulla Ahmad.)" (*Sarkhej. Its Saint and its Kings*, in *East and West*, September, 1905).

star of Shaikhs and Holy Men," Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, who traced with his own hands the west side, along the Sabarmati river; the second was the Sultan himself, who lined out the east side; and the third and fourth were two Ahmads, a Shaikh and a Mulla, both high-born connections of the king, who respectively lined out the other two sides. The walls were completed in A.D. 1417.* They described a circumference of about six miles, containing 139 bastions or towers.† The European travellers of the seventeenth century all mention the walls of Ahmadabad with wonder and admiration. The imposing river-bastion, known as the Manek Burj,‡ which stands at the head of the Ellis Bridge, and measures on the outside fifty-three feet in height, is said to contain the four-dation-stone of the city. The central or royal enclosure, called the 'Bhadra,' was built at the same time as the city-walls, and fortified by walls and bastions.§ It was so called from its being erected round an old temple of Bhadra Kali—

* Firishta (Briggs, IV p 70) expressly says that Mahmud Begada caused the city to be surrounded by a wall and bastions, giving the time by the date-line "Whoever is within is safe." This gives H. 892 or A.D. 1486. There can, however, be no doubt of the statement, made in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, that Sultan Ahmad Shah erected both the City and the Bhadra walls, and it is very probable that Mahmud Begada only repaired the city-walls and bastions (*Bom. Gazr* Vol. IV p 267 n.)

† Originally there were 13 principal gates (one permanently closed) and 3 small ones. The details are (a) on the north side, Shahpur, Delhi and Daryapur, (b) on the east side Kalupur and Sarangpur, (c) on the south side, Raypur, Astodiy, Mahudha (closed), and Jainalpur; and (d) on the west side, Khan Jahan, Raykhad, Manek, (the three small citadel gates, Ganesh, Ram, and Baradari), and Khanpur. The principal gateways have usually three stone arches, with doors of iron-plated timber. The Mahudha gate in the south wall was ill-omened, and was built up and never used. It is probably the Dhedriah gate mentioned in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. Two gateways are of recent date, *viz.* the Premabai in the north-east, Saracenic in style, built in 1861 at a cost of £914 (Rs 9,140); and the Panchkuva (five well) or Nava (new) gate in the east, built in 1871 for easy access to the railway station, at a cost of £1145 (Rs 11,450) — (*Vide Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IV, *Ahmedabad*, p. 268 and n.).

‡ "The Hindus say that the Manek Burj is not the ruby tower but Manek's tower, called after a Hindu monk (*bair*) who had to be conciliated before the walls were built. Everyday he made a cushion and every night he picked it to pieces, and as he picked, the day's work at the walls fell down. The Sultan found who was troubling him and asking him to give another proof of his power, got the magician into a small jar and kept him there till he promised to let the wall-building go on in peace. After this magician, besides the tower, the great market Manekchok is said to have been called, and the tomb and shrine of Maneknath Godaria, who is said to have been buried alive, may still be seen." — *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IV, *Ahmedabad*, p. 276 n.

§ The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* states that the walls of the 'citadel' were built by Sultan Ahmad I. (Major Watson. *Vide Bom. Gazr* Vol. IV, p. 275 n.) The Bhadra is square in form, enclosing an area of forty three acres, and the principal entrance to it is the lofty gateway to the east, close to the temple of Bhadra Kali and Azam Khan's palace. It has at present eight gates. According to Ogilby (1680) the Bhadra was, except Kabul and Kandahar, considered the strongest Mughal fortress in India, and was commonly fortified by eighteen large and many small guns. (Atlas V p. 109).

the auspicious form of the goddess Kali or Durga—which was probably a relic of the city of Karnavati. The present temple of that name, near the palace of Azam Khan, very probably continues to occupy its original site.

From the Bhadra the city extended nearly a mile to the north, east and south. There is no evidence, however, to support the statement, made by Sir T. C. Hope, that the area enclosed within the city-walls was reserved for the *faithful* alone, and that the Hindus were permitted to reside in the suburbs only. In his detailed account of the city, the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* mentions by name 110 suburbs or hamlets outside the city. Mandelslo, writing in 1638, makes the suburbs and dependent villages extend nearly seven leagues round.* "Oral tradition," says H. G. Briggs, "affirms that under the dynasty of Ahmad Shah the larger half of the city lay on the opposite side of the river—at present the site of stray ruins." All these references serve to prove the existence of large and populous suburbs throughout the period of the Saltanat and the rule of the Mughal viceroys.† In fact, without such a supposition, it is impossible to accept, even in an extremely modified form, the statement, often made, that the city could boast of a very large population. The whole area, inside as well as outside the walls, was divided into *ward's* or *quarterm's*, and assigned to the great nobles of the court, who gradually peopled their respective *mahallas*, and adorned them with mosques, to which they gave their names.

The work of adorning the new capital with architectural monuments, worthy of its rising splendour, proceeded apace. "In three years," says Sir T. Hope, "the city was sufficiently advanced for habitation, and for upwards of a century the work of population and adornment was carried out with unremitting energy, till architecture could proceed no further, having satisfied

* Mandelslo, *Foreign*, p. 78.

† "The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, writing about the middle of the eighteenth century, gives the names of 110 suburbs. Of eight of these the origin is not given; eighty-three were founded under the Ahmalabad Kings, and nineteen under the Mughal viceroys. * * * In the time of prosperity the suburbs probably differed greatly in size; some would seem, from the reference to them in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, to have been little more than a garden and a mosque. Others were much larger, 'considerable quarters, filled with everything valuable and rare, each almost a city.' (Bird's *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 811) In Usmanpur there are said to have been 12,000 shops. Of the 110 names given, eight are still (1879) suburbs, thirty are villages in the Daskrol sub-division, and seventy-two are deserted." (Bombay *Gazetteer*, Vol. IV, Ahmedabad, pp. 327-29).

the aesthetic and social wants of above two million souls. In the sixteenth century Ahmadabad came to be regarded as the finest, and perhaps the largest, city in India, or even in Asia. The Muhammadan historians are lavish in its praises. "This is, on the whole," says Firishta, "the handsomest city in Hindustan and perhaps in the world."† We would, no doubt, at this day, consider this extravagant praise. It must be remembered, however, that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the glories of Agra and of Delhi were yet incomplete, and Ahmadabad stood without a rival in beauty and population among the cities of India. During the course of the seventeenth century, however, the splendour of its monuments began to pale before the rising greatness of the Mughal capitals of Northern India. The earliest and some of the most famous of these monuments date from the time of Sultan Ahmad, and we shall proceed to give a descriptive sketch of the buildings erected by him, the chief of which are the Triple Gateway, the Jami Masjid, the Sultan's private mosque in the Bhadra, and his mausoleum in the Manek Chok. "With so noble a city as his creation, it is not without reason that historians have delighted to link with Ahmad's name the proud title of *Bani Ahmadabad*, 'Founder of Ahmadabad.'"

* Of the population of Ahmadabad, at the time of its greatest prosperity, no definite information can be traced. James Forbes in his *Oriental Memoirs*, states on the authority of "Mughal writers" that, about 1615, the city had a population of three millions; but his accuracy is extremely doubtful Sir T. Hope speaks of "above two million souls" (*Architecture of Ahmedabad*, p. 27), though without any reference. Ahmadabad was probably at the height of its prosperity during the second half of the seventeenth century, and yet none of the available accounts written by European travellers about that time points to anything like so large a population, though Mandelslo (1638) says that the suburbs and dependent villages are nearly seven leagues round. (*Voyages*, p. 78). According to the *Ain-i-Akbari* there were once 360 *puras*, of which only 81 were then (1560) flourishing; according to Firishta there were, in 1600, 360 *mahallas*, each surrounded by a wall (Briggs, IV. 14). The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmad*, in one passage, says that the city once contained 380 *puras*, and in his detailed account of the city, he mentions by name 110 suburbs. It is not easy to reconcile these varying accounts of the size of the city. In 1780, when taken by General Goddard, the population was estimated at about 100,000 only. (*Vide Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IV, *Ahmedabad*, pp. 252 n., 292 n. and 327 n.)

† Briggs' *Firishta*, Vol. IV, p. 14. The historian adds that "the principal streets were sufficiently wide to admit of ten carriages abreast." But, as H. G. Briggs says, "the vehicles of the lordly of Hindustan, when of native manufacture, are never so wide as three feet between the boxes of the axles. Hence the streets were not quite so wide as European intelligence would deem" (*Cities of Gujarat*, p. 247). Abul Fazl says of Ahmadabad "There are a thousand stone masjids, each having two large minarets and many wonderful inscriptions." And again, "The situation is remarkably healthy, and you may provide yourself with the productions of every part of the globe" (Gladwin's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 63). Elsewhere Abul Fazl tells us that Ahmadabad was one of the four cities where the imperial Akbar permitted gold to be coined, the other three places being Agra, Bengal and Kabul. (Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 81).

Perhaps the oldest Muhammadan architectural monument in Ahmadabad is the building still known as Ahmad Shah's Mosque,* abutting against the south wall of the Bhadra, and facing the present "Gujarat Club." The inscription in Arabic, above the central *mihrab*, thus records the foundation of the mosque.—"This lofty edifice and extensive masjid was built by the slave who hopes and the builder who takes refuge in the mercy of Allah—who is worshipped in masjids with bows and prostrations, who alone is to be worshipped according to the Quran verse: 'Verily the masjids belong to Allah, worship no one else with him'—by the slave who trusts in the helping Allah, Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Muzaffar, the king. And the date of its erection is the 4th Shawwal, A. H. 817 (17th December, 1414)." Inside, in the north-west corner of the mosque, raised on 25 pillars, is the *Muluk Khana* or the Royal Gallery (popularly known as the *Zanana* or Princesses' gallery), curtained to the east and south by perforated screenwork. On the floor of this royal chapel is a small low platform over which was formerly a magnificent canopy in which, it is said, Ahmad Shah used to recite his daily prayers. "It may be remarked," says the late Dr. Jas. Burgess, "that it is only in the Gujarat mosques of the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century, that these Royal or *Zanana* galleries appear. In the later masjids they are wanting, and the reason of this marked change is almost certainly that, in mosques built by courtiers and private individuals, no such separate chapel was required by the builders, nor perhaps would such an imitation of royalty have been tolerated."† Most of the materials used for the construction of this mosque are borrowed from some Hindu or Jaina temples, which must have been pulled down for the purpose. The pillars inside are largely taken from these temples, as some of them still bear reliefs depicting mythical figures, but little defaced, and one of them has traces of an inscription written in old Gujarati and dated A. D. 1252. The pillars supporting the Royal Gallery are richly wrought and appear to have been all taken from a single temple. It is recorded that during the Maratha occupation of Ahmadabad in 1758 the mosque of Sultan Ahmad Shah was utilised as a storehouse for wood and grass. It thus came to be looked upon as desecrated, and has been but little used for worship since that time. When H. G. Briggs visited the mosque in 1848, he found the courtyard abounded with lime-stuccoed tombs, the highest of which bore the appellation of *Ganj-Shahid* or 'Heap of Martyrs,' and was said to have been raised to the memory of the faithful

* Also popularly known under the name of the *Chhota Juma Masjid*.

† Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Part I, p. 18.

who perished in a great battle in the vicinity of Ahmadabad, and were interred here at the special desire of their monarch. No traces of this monument are now to be seen.

Before turning to consider the great Jami Masjid of Ahmad Shah, we shall briefly refer to two other mosques which date from the early years of his reign. One of these is Haibat Khan's mosque at the south end of the city, near the Jamalpur gate. It is believed to be the second oldest mosque in Ahmadabad and built about the same time as Ahmad Shah's masjid described above, though no inscription remains to give the date. According to some authorities Haibat Khan was the full uncle of Sultan Ahmad Shah, but, as Dr. Burgess says, he may possibly have been a son of Shams Khan, the brother of Sultan Muzaffar Shah. Another very old mosque in the city is that of Saiyid Alam, situated at a distance of 150 yards from the Khanpur gate, on a mound formed by the ground having been washed away by the rains. The minarets have long since been lost, and the evidence of the age of the building, which they could have afforded, is therefore not available but, judging from the style, the mosque may be assigned to a period not later than the reign of Ahmad Shah. Over the central *mihrab* there is an inscription in Persian, but unfortunately the first word of the date is unintelligible. The only reference we have in history to Saiyid Alam is that his son, a noble of the name of Saiyid Kasim, was the deputy of Sultan Ahmad in Sorath in 1414-15, and in 1430 accompanied Prince Muhammad against the Bahmani Sultan of Gulbarga.

The Jami Masjid of Ahmadabad, however, remains the most extensive and splendid of the religious edifices of the city, and was erected by Ahmad Shah at a distance of about 200 yards to the east of the Three Gates, in the centre of a spacious and open square. The building was commenced in A.D. 1412, and completed after twelve years in A.D. 1424. The mosque is one of the largest in India, and has been considered by Mr. Fergusson to be one of the most beautiful in the East. The fact that, owing to the industrial development of the city, it is now practically hemmed in on all sides by houses and shops, has considerably detracted from the pristine splendour of the building. The drawing of the façade, made by James Forbes in 1781,* gives a fairly accurate representation of the appearance of the Masjid in the days of its glory. It was originally adorned with two lofty minarets which are described as elegantly proportioned and richly decorated. Unfortunately these minarets were destroyed

* James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs* (Plates).

during the great earthquake of June, 1819. The Masjid stands at one end of a large courtyard, which has a reservoir in the centre, and is surrounded on three sides by a covered corridor.* There are fifteen principal domes, with 252 free-standing pillars† (which, according to some, produce a monotonous effect), and the height of the masjid, in the central area, is about 45 feet inside. The vast majority of the pillars in this mosque have been specially hewn for the purpose, but in the *Muluk Khana* we meet with a number of pillars of Jaina workmanship, and of a date two or three centuries before the time of Ahmad Shah, showing that they are the remains of Hindu temples, which must have been despoiled for the purpose. ‡ The material of the masjid is the usual fine sandstone found in the north of Kathiavad, but the pavement is of coarse white marble. The minars, when they stood, were of four storeys, and were known as "the shaking minarets", since they possessed the peculiarity, in common with some others in Ahmadabad, that when one was shaken, it communicated a vibratory motion to the other, though not the slightest tremor or agitation was perceptible in the intervening roof. Col. Monier Williams was the first scholar to draw attention to this interesting fact in his Journal, dated 31st May 1809, and it has since been abundantly verified, though no scientific explanation of this remarkable feature of the Ahmadabad minarets has yet been forthcoming. One corner of the Jami Masjid is occupied by the *Muluk Khana* or Royal Gallery, which is shut off from the mosque by a perforated screen between the surrounding pillars, and approached, as in Ahmad Shah's Mosque, by an outside stair. Over the central and principal *mihrab* is a slab bearing an inscription in two lines of elaborately interlaced letters. The record is in language very similar to that which we have quoted from the inscription in Ahmad Shah's private mosque in the Bhadra, and the date is 'the first day of Safar of the year 827 A.H' (4th January, A.D. 1424). The Sultan here gives his full regal title of *Nasir-ud-dunya wa-ud-din Abul Fath Ahmad Shah*, 'Helper of the World and of the Faith, Father of Victory, Ahmad Shah.' At the very threshold of the lofty central arch of the

* "No emblazoned sentences—which Forbes would introduce—grace the walls of the corridors; but, in lieu, single Persian letters of the *Nastaleeq* character, some of which are fully seven feet in length, may be seen in lamp-black (or very similar material) along the N. W. and S. E. quarters of the quadrangle: these merely furnish the normal truths of Islamicate faith."—(Briggs, H.G., *Cities of Gujarat*, p. 201).

† Burgess, *Arch. of Ahmadabad*, Pt. I, p. 31

‡ "The Portico, over the southern entrance, betrays marks of a couple of figures of the Brahmin Pantheon which the zeal of Islamism had not effectually effaced from the pilasters in which they appear." (Briggs, *sup.* p. 204).

Jami Masjid stands a black marble slab, which is believed to be the inverted plinth of an image of Parsvanatha, the twenty-third Jaina Tirthankara, brought from some Jaina temple that Ahmad Shah had destroyed. On this slab the 'Faithful' are expected to tread as they enter the mosque for their daily prayers.

A porch and door on the east side of the Jami Masjid lead into an enclosure containing the Mausoleum of Ahmad Shah. The *Rauza* is a massive domed building containing a central hall with four square rooms at the corners, and four deep pillared verandahs between them. In the centre of the main hall is the tomb of the great Sultan, and on either side are those of his son Muhammad Shah II, and his grandson Qutb-al-din Ahmad Shah II—all of white marble beautifully carved. Here rest, in their last sleep, these three Sultans of Ahmadabad, unheeded by the thousands who daily gather in the Manek Chok, the greatest business quarter of the city. The identity of the persons in the tombs in the adjoining rooms is not so definitely established, though there can be but little doubt that they are descendants of the royal house. The area surrounding the *Rauza* is occupied by graves, among which there is one in memory of some children of General Ballantyne, a political officer in the service of the East India Company. There is also an enclosure which contains an almshouse, or *Langarkhana*, where cooked rice is doled out every afternoon to the poor. It is possibly from this circumstance that the Mausoleum of Ahmad Shah is popularly known as *Badshah ka Hajira*—*haziri* being an offering of food to certain Muslim saints, which is then distributed to the poor who attend. The Mausoleum was in all probability erected by Ahmad Shah himself soon after the Jami Masjid. There is no original inscription in it; but the slab over the door leading to the central hall records that the tomb was repaired, about a century later, by one Farhat-ul-Mulk.*

Passing out eastwards from Ahmad Shah's *Rauza*, and crossing the Manek Chok street, we reach the lofty gateway which leads to the Tombs of the Queens, or *Rani ka Hajira*, where rest the remains of the Ahmad Shahi queens

* The following is the full rendering of the inscription:—"The lofty tomb of Ahmad Shah, the King,—whose dome rivals the vault of Heaven for height—though it had many servants, and though they always strove to keep it in order, no one has yet repaired it in so splendid a manner as the perfect mind of that re-peeted and exalted man, the benefactor of the present generation, Farhat-ul-Mulk, who is pious, God-fearing, liberal and faithful. The date-line of his office tenure has, with Allah's help, been shown by the poet Yahya in the words 'Farhatu'l Mulk' (giving the year A.H. 944, or A.D. 1537-8). This writing is the work of Ahmad Chihaju" (Arch. Surv. Rep. Westn. India, Vol. II, p. 8).

on a stone basement raised ten feet above the ground — “a noble mausoleum, where, beneath no gloomy darkness of a ponderous dome, but surrounded by the trellised cloister, and now brightening in sunlight radiant as their smiles had been, now overshadowed by foliage graceful as their forms, lie the mouldering beauties of the zanana of Ahmad Shah.”* Sir T. Hope, however, appears to have been misinformed as to the identity of the queens, who are certainly not Ahmad Shah’s wives. We shall quote the more complete and accurate description given by Dr. Burgess. “The principal tomb is one elaborately carved in white marble, and surrounded by a Persian inscription in low relief. It is that of Mughali Bibi, the wife of Muhammad Shah II, and mother of Mahmud Bigarah, and who, after her husband’s death, was married to the Musalman saint Shah Alam. Near it is another tomb in black marble, once inlaid with mother-o’-pearl, and ascribed to Murki Bibi or Mirgi Bibi, the sister of Mughali Bibi, the first wife of Shah Alam, and a daughter of the Jam of Sindh. Both of these tombs are beautiful works of art and exquisitely finished to the minutest detail.” There are some other tombs in marble and beautifully carved, probably connected with the reign of Ahmad Shah, but no evidence of their identity remains.

We have reviewed above the principal religious edifices and mausoleums of the reign of Ahmad Shah.† About the secular works erected in his time we have less to record. Of the palace of Ahmad Shah no vestige remains, though it is believed to have occupied the site on which now stands the office of the District

* Hope and Ferguson, *ut supra*, p. 47.

† We may mention one more tomb, though an humble one, called the Tomb of Sidi Badshah, situated in a corner in the west side of Azam Khan’s palace. A striking story in connection with this tomb was related to the writer of this history by his friend, the most genial and accomplished of scholars, Dr. Geo. P. Taylor of Ahmadabad. The story goes that Sidi Badshah was the Kotval or Head Police Officer of the city under Ahmad Shah. One night, on taking his daily round in the Bhadra, he was confronted by a lady of the most radiant beauty, who was no other than the goddess Lakshmi. She stopped him and said that she wished to see the king at the spot. The Kotval begged of her to excuse him, since, if he brought the king there at that late hour, and she had disappeared, his life would not be safe. The goddess reassured him, and promised that she would not leave the spot till she had seen the king. Sidi Badshah then repaired to the royal palace, and, waking the king, gave him the message. The clever monarch decided to use this opportunity to the utmost, and effectually prevent the goddess of Good Fortune from leaving his city. Feigning extreme resentment at his slumbers being disturbed, he exclaimed, “What if I should go there and find that she had disappeared?” With this he ordered the head of Sidi Badshah to be cut off, and then returned to his bedchamber. And hence it is that the goddess Lakshmi still remains, though invisible, waiting for the king. It is this permanent presence of the goddess in the city that accounts for the remarkable prosperity of Ahmadabad during the past five hundred years!

Collector.* A royal garden must have filled the space between the Palace and the Sultan's private mosque in the south-west corner of the Bhadra. The Triple Gateway or *Tin Darwaza* was constructed very early during the reign of Ahmad Shah, and still spans the broad street running eastwards from the Bhadra. It consists of three arches, and on the faces of the two piers are carved buttresses.† The arches are 24 feet 3 inches in height, and there is a terrace at the top with three balcony windows on each side. Through this magnificent gateway, a fitting entrance to the royal residence, "sallied Mahmud Bigarah, at the age of fourteen, to quell by his looks the rebellious nobles who disputed his succession, and, in later days, the newly appointed Maratha governors used to aim five arrows at one of its beams, and augur good or ill to their administration in accordance with their success in striking it."‡

As the Muhammadan architecture of Ahmadabad holds an important place in the history of Fine Art in Ahmadabad Architecture. India, it is necessary to say a few words about its genesis and character. From the time when

Vimal Sha, the devout Jaina minister of the Solanki Raja Bhim Dev I, erected his superb temple on Mount Abu in A.D. 1032 to the final conquest of Gujarat by the Muhammadans at the end of the thirteenth century, the wealthy community of the Jains had, by their patronage, exercised a powerful influence on the architecture of Western India. Hence it is that in the history of Indian Art the monuments of this early period in Gujarat are designated as belonging to the Jaina or the Western Hindu style. The Saracenic architecture of Ahmadabad owes its peculiarly elegant and pleasing character to the fact that it is essentially derived from the local Jaina forms which it replaced. Sir T. C. Hope says: "As to style, it was the singular fortune of the Muhammadans to find themselves among a people their equals in conception, their superiors in execution, and whose tastes had been refined by centuries of cultivation. While moulding them, they were moulded by them, and, though insisting on the bold features of their own minaret and pointed arch, they were fain to borrow the pillared hall,

* The palace was probably called the *Badhshahi Diwan Khana*. Its ruins were cleared away when the Collector's office was built some time in 1820. In the offices adjoining the Collector's may be traced the remains of the royal *hammams* or Baths.

† "The marble slab in the pier of the arch of the *Tin Darwaza* communicates a piece of interesting intelligence in Marathi respecting the principle of inheritance, devised apparently by the late Sir James Carnac, when Resident of Baroda. (H. G. Briggs, *Cities of Gujarat*, p. 297).

‡ Hope and Ferguson, *ut sup.*, p. 42.

the delicate traceries, and the rich surface ornaments of their despised and prostrate foe."* Not less important, it must be confessed, was the dependence of the conquerors on the conquered in respect of the materials and the builders. When Ahmad Shah decided to establish his capital on the site of the ancient Hindu city of Karnavati, he must have found there many old Hindu temples, whose destruction afforded him materials for his buildings. In the Jami Masjid, in Ahmad Shah's mosque in the Bhadra, and in many of the earlier mosques of the city, pillars and ceilings are to be found that have been transferred from the older temples, and many a delicately sculptured work of art, scornfully thrown into walls and foundations, has been brought to light in recent years.† The finest edifices of the old capital of Anhilvad, and of the remoter city of Chandravati,‡ appear to have been ruthlessly plundered for material throughout the whole period of Muhammadan rule in Gujarat. For fresh material the conquerors resorted to the sandstone quarries of Ahmadnagar (Idar) and Dhrangadra, or the marble hills of the Ajmer district. The builders and artisans employed by Ahmad Shah and his successors were probably Hindus and hereditary craftsmen, though no reference on this point can be traced.

* Hope and Fergusson, *ut sup.* p. 28

† "The various capitals and entire embellishment of the pillars of Hindu fanes have been bodily introduced into the mosques, while the chisel has artfully effaced the figures which graced the agreeable recesses given them by the Indian Supti. Most of the minarets have 'the *Vira-ghanta* or war-bell, the most ancient and general decoration of the columnar architecture of the Jains, suspended by a chain between each festoon.' (H. G. Briggs, *Cities of Gujarat*, p. 257)

"In 1873 among some foundations dug up inside of the Bhadra were several large stone blocks with Hindu carving. One of them had a short inscription dated A.D. 1303 (1859 S.) These have been supposed to be foundations of Sultan Ahmad's citadel." (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IV. p. 275 n.)

‡ "The Islamites, in founding the new city of Ahmad from the ruins of Chandravati and Anhilvada, took from these cities whatever materials suited their purpose" (Tod's *Travels in Western India*). The ruins of the ancient city of Chandravati are to be found at a small village of that name, situated in the Sirohi State in Rajputana, at the junction of the Sivalan with the Banas river, near the south end of Mount Abu. At one time Chandravati was a city of no small importance, being the capital of the Parmar chiefs of Abu, who were founders of the Solanki sovereigns of Anhilvad. The circumstances under which it came to be abandoned are unknown, though the date may be put at the end of the fourteenth century. Even what remained of its buildings, after spoliation by Ahmad Shah and the Muslims, has been lost to us by the ravages of time and the utilitarian vandalism of modern times. Its marble temples and exquisite sculptures and *teremas* have been 'despoiled, sold, and converted into lime.' H. G. Briggs, writing in Ahmadabad in 1848, says, "Itinerant sculptors bring valuable slabs (of marble) from the ruins of the ancient city of Chandravati, and a cart-load is procurable upon payment of a couple of rupees to the Thakur of the village" (*Cities of Gujarat*, p. 261). In 1882 the Rajputana-Malwa Railway was constructed, and its contractors completed the work of destruction. Sculptured marble fragments and images have been used by cart-loads on this Railway to build the piers of the bridges and culverts, and to break up for metalling the permanent way. (For fuller details of the ruins of Chandravati see Burgess and Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, pp. 96.

All these circumstances explain why the Saracenic architecture assumed in Ahmadabad a distinct local form, as it did in other places, such as Mandu, Jaunpur, and Bijapur.

Beginning with the accession of Ahmad Shah in 1410, the Saracenic architecture of Ahmadabad continued steadily to develop for the next hundred years, until it reached its perfected form at the death of Sultan Mahmud Begada in 1511. During this period of growth and prosperity, the style assumed two distinct forms—the one a combination of the Jaina and Muhammadan elements,* the other almost wholly Jaina, made up of "constructive forms invented specially for the arch-hating Hindus." Both the forms are beautiful in themselves. In the earliest mosques (those of Ahmad Shah, Haibat Khan and Saiyid Alam) a clumsy attempt is made to combine the foreign element with the local one, but without any success in blending the two—the exterior being severely Muslim, the interior wholly Jaina. By the time, however, that the great Jami Masjid is built (1424), the two elements are completely blended and harmonised, the minarets and arched windows being successfully combined with the flat Hindu aisles. Then, for a time, about the middle of the century (1446-52), almost all that was foreign is given up, and we have exquisite buildings erected at Sarkhej and Vatva which are almost wholly Hindu or Jaina in style, with only the slightest traces of Saracenic elements. From 1465 to the close of the reign of Mahmud Begada, we have again a series of mosques, all in the mixed style, but the Hindu and Muhammadan details are so perfectly amalgamated (as, for example, in the mosque of Bibi Achut Kuki, 1472) that "it requires a practised eye to detect what belongs to the one style and what to the other." That the purely Hindu style has, however, not been quite discarded is clearly evidenced by the erection, in 1514, of the beautiful little Rani Sipari Mosque, "the gem of Ahmadabad." After the end of the century that we have been considering, the monuments become fewer and the style less perfect. "It is perhaps the evidence of a declining age," says Fergusson, "to find size becoming the principal aim. But it is certainly one great and important ingredient in architectural design, and so thought the later architects of Ahmadabad. In their later mosques and buildings they attained greater dimensions, but it was at the expense of all that renders their earlier style so beautiful and so interesting."† After the conquest of the Sultanat by Akbar

* In technical language the 'mixed style' is the combination of the *arcuate*, brought in by the Muhammadan conquerors, with the *trabeate*, which the Hindu workmen manipulated with such success.

† Fergusson, *Hist. of Ind. and East. Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 239.

(A.D. 1573), we find the monuments of every class becoming fewer and less pleasing, "but the spirit of art was inherent in the people, and whenever it had an opportunity it still cropped out, but more in their tombs and smaller buildings than in their mosques or palaces."*

The principal architectural beauty of the Ahmadabad mosques is said to rest on three features, *viz.*, the exquisite device by which light is introduced into the body of the building; the graceful minarets, and the delicate tracery. The mosques normally consist of three domes resting on squares of twelve pillars each. But the central dome is higher than the other two, the additional height being obtained by introducing two pillars in front twice as high as those of the side domes, and by two rows of dwarf columns standing on the roof of the side squares. In the inter-spaces of these columns is generally built a low balustrade, richly ornamented by carving, or a beautiful screen of perforated stone-work. A clerestory is thus formed, through which a subdued reflected light is introduced into the central apartment of the mosque in the most artistic manner, while at the same time perfect ventilation is secured. So far as is known this most pleasing method of illumination is found only in the Ahmadabad mosques, where it was early employed and remained constant and unchanged throughout. Whether the mode was invented by the Ahmadabad architects, or was borrowed from some other source, it is difficult to determine, though, as Fergusson says, "like all good things in art, it is evidently the result of long experience, and the residue of many trials."† Turning next to the minarets, it appears that the architecture of Ahmadabad was the first of the Indo-Saracenic styles which systematically employed the minaret as an essential part of the mosque. Beginning with the first rude attempt in Sultan Ahmad Shah's mosque, where "the minarets are hardly more than pinnacles," the architects of Ahmadabad attained, in the course of a century, a degree of perfection in this respect which is unsurpassed by any other country, and produced examples which "surpass those of Cairo in beauty of outline and richness of detail." The Ahmadabad minaret is a part of the mosque and not merely a tower built on its roof. Except in the worst examples, it "stands out buttress-like from the ground to the mosque roof, relieving its flat front wall. Above the roof it rises a round, slightly-tapering tower, relieved by galleries supported by most richly carved brackets and surrounded by delicately cut balustrades, and ending in a conical

* Hope and Fergusson, *ut sup.* p. 93.

† Hope and Fergusson, *ut sup.* p. 80.

top of varied design.”* It is owing to this fact that we can still admire the rich and elaborate ornamentation of the minars, though the upper towers of several of them have been destroyed by the earthquake of June 1819. The delicate and elaborate tracery of the Ahmadabad mosques has been admired by all who have seen it. It is found in rich profusion in arches, windows, and screens between the pillars. It is also employed to fill the niches in the minarets, and takes the place of the images which the Muslim could not tolerate. “We can follow the progress of the development of this form,” says Fergusson, “from the first attempt in the Jami Masjid, through all its stages to the exquisite patterns of the Queen’s Mosque at Mirzapur. After a century’s experience they produced forms which as architectural ornaments will, in their own class, stand comparison with any employed in any age or in any part of the world.”† We need only add that the exquisite designs in the windows at the back of the Sidi Saiyid Mosque are one of the glories of India.

As capital of the kingdom, Ahmadabad must have remained Mint-towns under the first of the mint-towns of the Gujarat Ahmad Shah. Saltanat, throughout the period of its independence. The mint name of the city appears to have been *Shahr Muazzam*, ‘the great city’; but no known silver coin of the period bears this legend, and only four copper coins of the whole series can, from their legends, be definitely declared to have been struck at the Ahmadabad mint. The conclusion to be drawn from this absence of the name of Ahmadabad on the coins, is best stated in the words of the Rev. Dr. Geo. P. Taylor, an authority on Muhammadan coins, to whose scholarly monograph on *The Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat* all students of the history of the period are deeply indebted. He says: “It is extremely improbable that during the entire period of the Gujarat Saltanat, the activity of the mint at its capital city should have been confined to the years H. 970, 977, 978 and 991—so improbable, indeed, is this supposition that one may safely hazard the conjecture that the Gujarat coins bearing no mint name (and these are the large majority) were all struck at the Ahmadabad mint. This being known as the first mint in Gujarat, first both in time and in importance, it was not deemed necessary to record the name of the city on the coins that issued from it. On the other hand, the comparatively very few coins struck at any minor mint in Gujarat would naturally bear, if only for purposes of differentiation, the distinctive name of the mint-town.”‡ The

* *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IV, p. 265.

† Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II., p. 236.

‡ Taylor, Geo. P., *The Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat*.

second and later mint-epithet of Ahmadabad was *Dar-al-Darb*, 'the Seat of the Mint,' and we find it present on several of the coins struck by the Emperor Akbar at the Ahmadabad mint after his conquest of Gujarat in A.D. 1573, and on the few surviving coins of Muzaffar III (the last of the Sultans of Ahmadabad) struck during the few months of his second reign (A.D. 1583-84). On other coins of Akbar we find that Ahmadabad is variously styled as *Dar-ul-Khilafat*, "the Seat of the Caliphate," and *Dar-us-Sallat*, "the Seat of the Empire," and on a rupee of Rafi-al-Darajat we find it described under the proud title of *Zinat-ul-bilad*, "the Beauty of Cities."*

Sixteen years after the foundation of Ahmadabad, the Sultan Ahmad founded a second city in Gujarat, which was also named after himself—Ahmadnagar (Idar), A.D. 1427. It was the outcome of his long wars with the troublesome Hindu chief of Idar, to overawe whom the Sultan erected a fortress, eighteen miles from Idar, on the banks of the Hathmati river, round which the new city rapidly grew up. "So beautiful is the natural scenery of this district that no visitor to the spot to-day will feel surprised that Ahmad made choice of it for a residence, and thought for a time of transferring thither the headquarters of Government." Under Ahmad Shah, the new city of Ahmadnagar (Idar) rose to the dignity of a second mint town, and a large number of his coins bear an inscription to the effect that they were struck at this place. The honorific mint-epithet of this city is doubtful. Some of the coins appear to bear the legend *Shahr Mahanur*, "the city of great light," though Dr. Taylor expresses his dissatisfaction as to the correctness of this reading. The period of the activity of the mint at Ahmadnagar (Idar), has been thus ascertained by the same learned authority: "From the founding of Ahmadnagar right on till Ahmad Shah's death, each year witnessed an abundant issue of copper coins from the Ahmadnagar mint. Indeed it would seem that every dated copper coin of Ahmad I was struck at that mint, whereas not a single copper coin, dated or otherwise, appears to have issued from it subsequent to Ahmad's death. Thus the period of activity of the mint at Ahmadnagar coincides with the last seventeen years of the reign of Ahmad I."†

The greater part of Sultan Ahmad's long reign of thirty-two years and six months was spent in military campaigns, waged either against his own nobles, or the Hindu chiefs of Gujarat, or the two powerful Muhammadan rulers whose territories

* Taylor, Geo. P., *The Coins of the Gujarat Sultanat*.

† Taylor, Geo. P., *Ibid.*

adjoined those of the Gujarat Kingdom. During the first five years of his reign, he effected the task of putting down the rebellious nobles, many of them his blood-relations, who, led by his cousin Moid-ud-din (Modud), disputed his authority. Sultan Ahmad was a zealous Muhammadan, and under him, for the first time since the days of Ala-ud-din Khilji, a systematic attempt was made to bring the Hindu chiefs of Gujarat and Sorath (Kathiavard)* into subjection to Islam. As the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* says, "along a line drawn from the city of Nahrwala (Anhilvad Pattan) to the fortress of Broach the faith of Islam shone bright, but in the countries beyond that line the dimness of infidelity maintained its ground. In the end the efforts and perseverance of the Sultans of Gujarat (God's mercy and pardon be on them !) made all pure and bright."† Those who, urged by persuasion or compelled by force, embraced the creed of Islam, were treated with special consideration and assumed the position of Zamindars. Some of the minor landholders, sheltered in inaccessible natural fortresses, were with difficulty compelled to pay tribute ; others, less favourably situated for defence, were driven wholly from their lands and lived the life of outlaws. "The work, however, was never fully accomplished ; it was a labour of Sisyphus ; allegiance sat as lightly on Zamindar as upon Thakur or Rav, and notwithstanding many a boast of the arrogant Muslim, the restoration of peace and unity to Gujarat was reserved for other hands, a wiser and more merciful policy, and a long future time."‡

With the greater Hindu chiefs of Gujarat the strife of Ahmad Shah was more equal and more prolonged, particularly as they found a powerful ally in the Sultan Hoshang of Malwa, who, though a Musalman, was naturally jealous of the rising greatness of the ruler of Ahmadabad. In A. D. 1414 Ahmad Shah led an army against Rav Mandlik of Junagadh, who, being defeated, retired to the hill-fortress of Girnar. The Sultan was unable to capture this stronghold, but he managed to get possession

* The name Kathiavard is of recent origin. Throughout the period of Musalman rule, peninsular Gujarat was commonly known as Sorath, a corrupted form of the ancient Sanskrit name of Saurashtra. The tribe of the Kathis entered the peninsula after the establishment of Muhammadan power in Gujarat, and, as late as the middle of the 18th century, the name Kathiavard was applied to only one of the sub-divisions of the peninsula.

† In the disorders that prevailed during the latter part of that century, the Kathis made themselves conspicuous. As it was from the hardy horsemen of this tribe that the tribute-exacting Marathas met with the fiercest resistance, they came to speak of the whole peninsula as the land of the Kathis. This use was adopted by the early British officers and has since continued."—*Enc. Gazz.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 209.

‡ Bayley's *History of Gujarat*, p. 97.

§ Forbes, *Enc. Met.*, Vol. I, p. 329.

of the fortified citadel of Junagadh. The power of the Rav was broken, he gave in his allegiance, and agreed to pay tribute. "The light of Islam did not shine fully over the country on this occasion," and the final conquest of Junagadh was reserved for the arms of the Sultan Mahmud Begada, when the Rav accepted the faith of the Prophet (A.D. 1470). In 1415 Sultan Ahmad went with an army to destroy the temple of Siddhpur,* on the Sarasvati river. Four years later, the city of Sankheda Bhadarpur, south-east of Baroda, was captured, a fort raised and a mosque built in it. Among other Hindu chiefs whom Ahmad Shah brought to a feudatory state, at different periods during his reign, were the rulers of Idar, Champanir, Nandod, and Jhalavada. But, of these Rajas, the opposition of none was so prolonged, and maintained with such pertinacity, as that of the Rav Punja of Idar, who, when hard pressed, retired to the hills, only to return when the danger was over. We have already mentioned the foundation, in 1427, by the Sultan Ahmad, of the fortress and city of Ahmadnagar, on the banks of the Hathmati, ten *kos* from Idar, to overawe this refractory feudatory. Tradition states that he also founded the fort of Sadra, in a strong position on the banks of the Sabarnati, about half-way between Ahmadnagar and his capital. In A.D. 1428, the Sultan pursued the Rav into the hills, where, during a skirmish, the latter was entrapped in a precipitous defile. The Rav's horse shied at the Sultan's elephant, and fell into the abyss, and Punja, says the chronicler, "gave up his soul to the lord of hell." His son sought forgiveness and promised to pay an annual tribute, yet he and his successors continued to maintain, for nearly two centuries, the same intermittent and guerilla warfare against the rulers of Ahmadabad, and retained their independent existence after the Sultans of the Ahmad Shahi dynasty had passed away. The martial valour that distinguished the rulers of Idar in the fifteenth century has remained undimmed to this day, and its valiant chief, H. H. Maharaja Col. Sir Pratap Singh, has worthily maintained the traditions of his Rajput ancestry in many a glorious battlefield on behalf of the British Raj.

We turn now to review Sultan Ahmad's wars against his two great Muhammadan neighbours on his eastern and southern frontiers. During this reign the celebrated Sultan Hoshang of

* The splendid temple of Rudramahalaya (Rudramala) at Siddhpur, founded by Mulraj Solanki in A.D. 944, and subsequently reconstructed and embellished by the great Siddh Raj about A.D. 1143, was ruthlessly demolished by the Muhammadans on two separate occasions, viz., first by Ulugh Khan in A.D. 1298, and later by Sultan Ahmad Shah in July 1415, as mentioned above.

Malwa* "twice penetrated into Gujarat, and his kingdom was, in turn, thrice invaded by Ahmad Shah." These campaigns are described at tedious length by the Muhammadan historians; but the monotonous narrative which they give of surprises and repulses, of conquests and defeats, contains hardly anything of interest or importance to detain our attention. In the course of the wars against Malwa, Ahmad Shah built the fort of Dohad, now in the Panch Mahals district, and of Jitpur in Lunavada, twelve miles north-east of Balasinor. After 1422, when his namesake Ahmad Shah (Wali) Bahmani of Gulbarga usurped the throne of the Deccan, the relations of the Gujarat ruler with his neighbour on the south were unfriendly. In A.D. 1431, on the death of 'Rai' Qutb, who held the island of Mahim (now the northern part of the island of Bombay) on behalf of the Gujarat Sultan, Ahmad Shah Bahmani decided on the conquest of the whole of the Northern Konkan. He therefore sent his trusted noble Malik Hasan, better known by his title of Malik-ut-Tujjar ("the Lord of the Merchants"), to carry out his object, with the result that the latter took forcible possession of the island of Mahim and the neighbouring districts. In order to repel this wanton attack on a Muhammadan territory, Sultan Ahmad sent an army under the command of his son Prince Zafar Khan. At the same time he ordered his fleet—this is the first mention that we have of the fact that the Sultans of Ahmadabad had a navy—to be collected from the ports of Patan (Prabhas), Div, Gogha and Cambay and to sail to the Konkan coast in order to co-operate with the land forces. Some seven hundred vessels were fitted up, and sailed to the south under the command of Mukhlis-ul-Mulk, Thana, which belonged to the Bahmanis, and was at this time the chief city in the Northern Konkan, was invested both by land and by sea, and capitulated to the Gujaratis. The island of Mahim was ultimately recovered, and many of the men of Malik-ut-Tujjar were taken prisoners in their attempt to escape.

* In 1401, in the disruption of the Tughlak Empire after the terrible invasion of Timur Lang, Dilawar Khan Ghori, imperial governor of Malwa, declared his independence and proclaimed himself king at Dhar, the ancient capital of the province. He was succeeded by his more celebrated son Alp Khan, under the title of Sultan Hoshang Ghori (A.D. 1405-1435). Sultan Hoshang, a restless soldier, conducted many campaigns against his neighbours, and was an inveterate enemy of Ahmad Shah of Gujarat. It has been said of him, however, that fortune never smiled on him. He built Hoshangabad on the Narbada, and transferred his capital from Dhar to the famous hill-fortress of Mandu, which he fortified, and beautified with many public edifices. In the intervals of his wars he devoted himself to the completion and adornment of his new mountain-capital, which remains, though ruined and deserted, a noble memorial of his greatness. An exhaustive description of Mandu and its remains will be found in *Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. Society*, Vol. XIX (1885), pp. 154-201; and in Vol. XXI (1902), pp. 378-391.

We are also informed that, in 1432, Prince Fateh Khan, another son of Ahmad Shah, was married to the daughter of the Rai of Mahim. This contest between Sultan Ahmad and the Bahmani sovereign for the possession of Mahim, is the first notice we have of the exercise of sovereignty by the Musalman rulers of Gujarat over lands further south than the neighbourhood of Surat.

The history of the island of Mahim cannot be without interest to us, since, together with the adjacent island of Mumba Devi, it has now developed into the splendid metropolis of Bombay. It appears that the Solanki Bhim Dev I occupied Mahim with his followers after the capture of Anhilvad by Mahmud of Ghazni during his expedition against Somnath in A.D. 1024, and from that time the island remained subject to the authority of Anhilvad until the fall of the Vaghela dynasty. As no record remains of a Musalman conquest of this detached quarter it is probable that Bombay and the northern Konkan fell into the possession of the Muhammadans on the extinction of the Vaghela dynasty in A.D. 1298, as part of the recognised territories of the lords of Anhilpur.* Throughout the fourteenth century, Mahim, with its neighbourhood, must have been a dependency of, or tributary to, the Afghan viceroys of Gujarat, and at the end of that century it became subject to the newly established Gujarat Saltanat. It is probable that the Rai Qutb, mentioned above, was, in his origin, a tributary local Hindu prince of Mahim, who embraced Islam, and was permitted by the Gujarat king to retain a nominal independence, and to govern the place on his behalf. By marrying his son to the Rai's daughter, Sultan Ahmad consolidated his claim to Mahim, which remained subject to his successors until the arrival of the Portuguese there in A.D. 1534. It appears, however, that the Sultans did little to improve its condition, except, if tradition speaks truly, the plantation of some fruit trees in the island during the reign of the famous Mahmud Begada. But for the few sanctuaries of the *Pirs* at Mahim, which are still annually frequented by large numbers of the Bombay Musalmans, no durable monument remains to attest Muhammadan sway over this island for more than two centuries.

Of Ahmad Shah's civil and military administration some account has been given us by the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, who also informs us that the arrangements were made "under the advice of ministers of integrity and nobles of wisdom and experience." The soldiers were paid half in cash from the

* According to Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, however, "in 1818, the Mussalman army occupied, by order of the Emperor Mubarak, Mahim and Salsette."—*The Origin of Bombay*. (J.B.B.R.A.S. Extra Number, 1900, p. 67).

treasury, and half by grants of land. This system served the purpose of attaching them to the soil, and interested heart and soul in the protection of the country, for the safety of their fields and houses ; and, on the other hand, the money portion of their allowances—which was regularly paid monthly without excuse or delay—enabled them to equip and maintain themselves for a campaign without getting into debt. The soldier, when on active service, also felt at ease regarding his family, which could draw its support during his absence from his *jagir*. As regards financial officers it was arranged that two persons were to have joint charge of each office, and, in order that they might act as checks on each other, they were to be selected from different classes : one from the personal followers of the Sultan, the other from the local nobility. Thus peculation was prevented. The *amils*, or revenue officers, of the districts were appointed on the same principle. All these arrangements are said to have been made by the Sultan Ahmad during the two years following the last campaign against Rav Funja of Idar, A. D. 1428, when he remained in his capital, occupied in bringing his own country into order, and did not concern himself with any foreign matters. The system thus introduced continued in operation until the end of the reign of Sultan Muzaffar II, son of Sultan Mahmud Begada.

Of the strict and impartial administration of justice during the whole of Sultan Ahmad's reign two instances are recorded. His own son-in-law, "in the arrogance of youth and the pride of his royal alliance," committed murder. The *kazi*, to whom the Sultan referred the case, compromised the offence with the heirs of the murdered person for forty camels as the price of blood. The Sultan declined to allow this decision, declaring that it might encourage persons, powerful at court, to commit similar offences, relying on their interest with the Sultan. He ordered the *kazi* to hang the young man in the market place, and, after exposing the body for a day, to remove it for burial. The salutary effect of this punishment lasted through the whole of the reign. There is another story. One day the Sultan, sitting in the upper part of his palace, watching the Sabarmati in flood, saw a black object tossing about. He ordered the same to be brought in, and it proved to be a large earthen jar, which contained the body of a murdered man, wrapped in a blanket. The potters of the city being summoned, one of them identified the jar as made by himself and sold to the headman of a certain village. The headman was arrested, and, on enquiry and trial, it was proved that he had killed a grain merchant and set him adrift in the jar. He was sentenced to death.

In spite of all the glory of his conquests, and the lustre that surrounds his administration, it must be admitted that the hand of Ahmad Shah was heavy on his Hindu subjects. His vocation was to destroy as much as to build, and throughout his reign his efforts were directed towards breaking down the liberties, the temples, and the faith of the Hindu chieftains of Gujarat. The appointment of a special officer, named Taj-ul-Mulk, commissioned to destroy all idolatrous temples in Gujarat, and the demands made by the Sultan for the daughters of the Hindu chiefs to replenish his harem, provoked, however, the most determined resistance. The late Mr. A. Kinloch Forbes has, in his *Ras Mala*—that delightful symposium of the Hindu bardic chronicles of Gujarat—given us, under the title of “The Courtships of Ahmad Shah,” a vivid idea of the spirit in which the Sultan’s demands were received by his Rajput feudatories, still proud of their ancient lineage and jealous of the honour of their race. Two illustrations will suffice. Samant Singh, Chief of Beola, had a beautiful daughter whom the Sultan wished to espouse. Feigning pleasure at the demand, the chief fixed a day for the marriage, and invited the Sultan to his territory. When Ahmad Shah arrived at Beola he was attacked by five thousand armed Rajputs, and had to carry on a campaign for five months, at the end of which Samant Singh escaped with his daughter, and married her to the Rāv of Idar, the inveterate foe of Ahmad Shah. The gallant chief of Matar was less fortunate. He was invited to the Court and thrown into prison on his refusing to stain the honour of his house by marrying his daughter to the Sultan. His wife obtained his liberation by surrendering the beauty, named Raniba, to the Sultan without her husband’s knowledge. On his return home the Rajput asked for his daughter, and would not touch food until she had been presented. His wife at length told him what she had done in order to end his imprisonment. “The Rajput rose, quick as thought, and seized his sword; his wife cast her arms round him, but he dashed her from him to the ground, plunged his sword into his breast, and expired.”*

Like unto the remorse of Mulraj, the founder of the Solanki dynasty, for the ruthless slaughter of the Private life of scions of the Chavada race, was the long and Ahmad Shah. bitter penitence of Sultan Ahmad for the dark deed by which he hastened his elevation to the throne. Dr. Taylor observes: “The scrupulous observance of religious ritual that marked the after years of Ahmad’s life, finds perhaps its best explanation in the assumption that, profoundly penitent,

* Forbes, *Ras Mala*, 1st ed., Vol I, p. 341.

he was seeking thus to expiate his terrible crime. In the Jami Masjid of Ahmadabad is still shown in the Royal Gallery—the *Muluk Khana*—a low dais with its marble surface worn away by Ahmad's feet, attesting his so frequent prayer-prostrations. Tradition also tells us that his home-life was severely simple, his personal expenses being restricted to the sum received from the sale of caps made by his own hands. It is further significant that his after-death title is *Khudayagan-i-Maghfur*, “the great lord forgiven,” thus be-tokening that ‘Allah the Pitiful, moved by the prayer of forty believers, had spread his forgiveness over the crime of Ahmad's youth’.”*

Judging from the standpoint of the injunctions of Islam, and the standard of his time, Ahmad Shah was almost a pattern monarch, and, if constructive statesmanship be the test of greatness, his claim to high place among the rulers of India in the fifteenth century cannot be denied. Among the Sultans of Gujarat there is only one name which challenges comparison with his, and the fame of Mahmud Begada equals, though it does not surpass, that of the founder of Ahmadabad. Sultan Ahmad ascended the throne at the age of twenty, and was only fifty-two years old at the time of his death. He had atoned, by long and bitter remorse, for the dark deed by which he had gained the throne; but the memory of his crime seems to have lingered with him till life's close, for he was never known to laugh. His piety is the constant theme of the Muhammadan historians, who point out that from his youth to the last day of his life he never neglected to say his morning prayers. He was a disciple of the three great religious teachers of Islam who flourished in Gujarat at that time, viz., Shaikh Ruku-ud-din, a descendant of the great Khwaja Moin-ud-din Chishti of Ajmir; Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, who lies at Sarkhej; and the Bukharan Shaikh Burhan-ud-din, surnamed Qutb-ul-Alam (the father of the more famous Shah Alam), who lived at Vatva and is interred there. Ahmad Shah was a wise administrator, and justly enforced the laws on all his subjects, and the people prospered during his reign, as is amply shown by the increase of the revenues of the state, which continued up to the time of Muzaffar Shah II. He was also an active and successful soldier, “ready for the most part to assist a Muhammadan friend; ready, also,” with or without pretence, to attack an idolatrous neighbour, and to extirpate idol-worship whenever he could.” The Hindu chiefs,

* Taylor, Geo. F., *Coins of the Gujarat Sultans*.

no doubt, bitterly resented his demands for their daughters in marriage ; but it must be remembered that these marriages were insisted upon everywhere in India by the Muhammadan rulers, in a great measure from motives of policy. If he be forgiven for his fierce bigotry and relentless warfare against the Hindus, it must be confessed that he was a sovereign far above the average, who has been rightly regarded as the virtual founder of his dynasty. Sultan Ahmad is still a name of power among the Musalmans of Gujarat, by whom he is not more honoured for his success in war than for his piety and justice. The foundation of Ahmadabad has set the seal on his fame, and, as long as the metropolis of Gujarat continues to exist, and to advance along the path of power and prosperity, so long will the name of its founder remain enshrined in the memories of its citizens.

IV—Sultan Muhammad Shah II (A.D. 1442-1451).

Sultan Ahmad died in his capital in A. D. 1442, and was buried in the mausoleum in the Manek Chok, which he had raised for himself during his lifetime. His son Muhammad Shah succeeded to the throne under the title of Ghiyath-al-dunya wa al-din (Aid of the World and of the Faith), and reigned for the next nine years. The new ruler inherited neither the forceful character nor the military genius of his great father. In the words of Sikandar, "He gave himself up to pleasure and ease, and had no care for the affairs of Government, or rather the capacity of his understanding did not attain unto the lofty heights of the concerns of State." He was of a generous and pleasure-loving disposition, and his prodigal liberality earned him the epithet of *Zar-Bakhsh* or the Gold-giver.

In A. D. 1445, Sultan Muhammad, in continuation of his father's policy, led an army against the Rav of Idar, who sent envoys to ask for forgiveness. The envoys were accompanied by the Rav's daughter, and the Sultan was so fascinated with her beauty, that he married her, and confirmed her father in his kingdom. In A. D. 1451, Muhammad Shah proceeded to reduce the fort of Champanir. Its ruler, Raja Gangadas, was defeated in open battle, and betook himself to his fortress, which was invested. Finding his garrison was in straits, the Raja, by the offer of a handsome payment, invited the assistance of Sultan Mahmud I

Khalji of Malwa*; and the latter, "in base greed, and heedless of his duty to Islam", accepted the terms. When he arrived at Dohad, which belonged to Gujarat, and was the frontier fortress between the two Muslim kingdoms, Sultan Muhammad Shah thought it expedient to raise the siege of Champanir and to retire.

Like many usurpers who have raised themselves to royal power, Sultan Mahmud Khalji was a brave and ambitious soldier, and proposed nothing less than to annex the kingdom of Gujarat to his own. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* relates † that he was a friend and disciple of darvishes, and now tried to effect his object with the spiritual assistance of Shaikh Kamal, ‡ who was regarded as a very holy man in Gujarat, and with whom the Malwa ruler had long been on terms of intimacy. Mahmud Khalji, therefore, wrote to Shaikh Kamal at Ahmadabad that, if through the blessings invoked by the saint from the Almighty, the kingdom of Gujarat came into his hands, he would establish for the saint a monastic refectory, and settle on him a stipend of three crores of Gujarat *tankas*, equal to that enjoyed by Shaikh Ahmad Khattu. He also sent Shaikh Kamal five hundred gold *tankas* of full weight as a present, and the saint is said to have made the holy volume of the Quran the receptacle for this impure pelf. When Sultan Muhammad Shah of Gujarat was informed of these transactions, he caused an enquiry to be made into the conduct of the saint, which appeared to be so little in keeping with his sacred character; and, on his treachery being proved, in great wrath he took away the gold coins from Shaikh Kamal and deposited them in his own treasury. From that time, the story goes, the Shaikh did not cease day and night to pray

* Mahmud I Khalji of Malwa was the son of Khan Jahan Khalji (styled Malik Mughis and Azim Humayun), the prime minister and kinsman of Sultan Hoshang Shah Ghori of Malwa. After the death of Hoshang Shah, Mahmud, in conjunction with his father, succeeded in poisoning his sovereign Muhammad Shah, the weak and dissolute son of Hoshang Shah, and ascended the throne of Malwa in A. D. 1426. A brave soldier and an equally good administrator, he reigned from A. D. 1426-1475. Sultan Ahmad Shah of Gujarat conducted several campaigns against him, apparently on behalf of the displaced Ghorian line. Under Mahmud I the kingdom of Malwa rose to its greatest strength. As we shall see in the course of our history, Sultan Mahmud and his descendants were almost constantly at war with the Gujarat rulers till A. D. 1531, when the kingdom of Malwa was incorporated with that of Gujarat by Sultan Bahadur.

† The account that follows is related by the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, who expressly points out that it was based, not on historical records, but "on authentic traditions, coming down from father to son, which are in vogue among the people of Gujarat." (Fazilullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, p. 24).

‡ Shaikh Kamal Shah Malwi is said to have come from Malwa to the court of Ahmad Shah I, and was in high favour with the king and his family as a holy *Pir*. His *Rauza* is situated near the Mosque of Malik Alam, about a mile to the south of the city of Ahmadabad, in the village land of Dani Limdi, not far from the Shah Alam *Rauza*.

that the kingdom of Gujarat might be bestowed on Sultan Mahmud. At last, according to the holy text which says that "the prayer of the oppressed shall not be in vain, even though he be a vile sinner", his petition was granted. The Shaikh forthwith informed the Malwa ruler of the result, and even drew up a grant purporting to emanate from the Almighty to that effect. Sultan Mahmud Khalji, thereupon, marched on Gujarat with eighty thousand horse.* In this crisis the pusillanimous ruler of Gujarat, instead of consulting his brave nobles, took the advice of a *wania* or grain dealer, who was his intimate friend. The latter suggested that the Sultan should seek safety in flight, and betake himself, with his women and his treasure, to his ships, so that the invader, finding himself balked, "like a dog who has got into an empty house," would return to his country. Sultan Muhammad Shah was preparing to act upon this unmanly advice, when the Gujarat nobles, becoming acquainted with his intentions, determined to compass his destruction. The lead was taken by one Saiyid Ata-ullah, who had the title of *Kiwan-ul-Mulk*. This noble, however, decided at first to test the heir-apparent, Jalal Khan, who was then at Nadiad. The prince assured him that, should he succeed to the sovereignty, he would either conquer his enemy or leave his head on the field of battle. The Saiyid was delighted, and introduced the prince secretly by night into Ahmadabad by the Mirku-gate, and "dropped the medicine of death into the cup of the Sultan's life."

Sultan Muhammad II thus perished in A. D. 1451, and was buried in the *Manek Chok* in the tomb of his great father. The mildness of his disposition earned for him, after his death, the title of *Karim* or Merciful. His eldest son Jalal Khan, who succeeded him under the title of *Qutb-ud-din*, has been mentioned above. But in A. D. 1445, Muhammad's wife, Mughali Bibi, gave birth to "a fortunate and glorious son," who was named Fateh Khan, and who was destined to succeed his brother on the throne of Gujarat as Mahmud Begada. It is related that Jam Juna, king of Thatta in Sind, had two daughters, Bibi Mirgi and Bibi Mughali: the first he betrothed to Sultan Muhammad, and the other to Shah Alam, the son of the famous Saint Burhan-ud-din *Qutb-ul-Alam*. But the Sultan hearing

* Three reasons are assigned for Sultan Mahmud Khalji's invasion: viz., first, the weakness and timidity of the Sultan of Gujarat; secondly, an invitation from a disloyal and influential portion of the religious recluses; and thirdly, the advice and instigation of a discontented member of the royal family of Gujarat. In all probability all these causes combined to induce Sultan Mahmud to give the reins to his ambition, which was never of a scrupulous character. (Bayley's *Gujarat*, p. 146 r.).

of the greater beauty of Bibi Mughali, partly by force and partly by gold, persuaded the Jam's envoys to give Bibi Mughali to him and to marry Bibi Mirgi, who was less comely, to Shah Alam. When Shah Alam, with a sad heart, complained of this to his father, the latter replied, " My son, it is destined that you shall marry both of them ; to you will come both the cow and the calf." This prophecy, as we shall see, eventually proved true, for, after the death of his wife, Shah Alam married Bibi Mughali, the widow of Sultan Muhammad Shah, who had for several years been living, together with her son, at the house of her sister, in order to protect the boy from the evil designs of his brother, Sultan Qutb-ud-din.

In 1446, the fourth year of the reign of Muhammad Shah II, Shaikh Ahmad the saintly Shaikh Ahmad Khattu died at a very advanced age in his chosen retreat at Bakhsh. Sarkhej, and it is necessary to say a few words about the career of this remarkable man whose eminent virtues and attainments have given him a high place in India among the Saints of Islam. He was born in 1338, probably at Delhi, and was the son of Malik Ikhtiyar-al-din, a nobleman of the court of Firuz Shah Tughlak, and related to that Emperor. On the death of his father he inherited his wealth, and is said to have squandered it in pleasures and dissipation. Satiated with these vain pursuits, the youth, at the age of thirty, attached himself as a disciple to Shaikh Baba Ishak Maghrabi, a famous divine who lived at Khattu, a village to the east of Nagor, in the Jodhpur State. The preceptor initiated his eager neophyte into the doctrines of the Silsila Maghrabi, the Western or African sect, in which Ahmad attained such distinction that he won the title of " the Lamp." His surpassing learning and piety also procured for him the designation of *Qutb-al-aqtab*, " the pole star of pole-stars "—" a term indicative of his having reached that highest stage of sanctity wherein is manifested a reflexion of the heart of the Prophet himself." On the death of his spiritual father in 1374, Shaikh Ahmad, who was now known by the cognomen of Khattu, decided to proceed on a pilgrimage to the Holy Places of Islam and to various other sacred cities. In the course of these journeys he halted at Anhilvad Pattan on his way to the sea-port at Cambay, and was hospitably entertained by Fateh Khan, the father of Farhat-ul-Mulk Rasti Khan, who was at that time viceroy of Gujarat under the court of Delhi. Many years later Shaikh Ahmad returned to India,

landing at Thatta in Sind, and, in grateful remembrance of the flattering reception he had received, decided to make Gujarat his home. He arrived at Anhilvad in the last years of the fourteenth century, and chose Sarkhej, a village on the banks of the Sabarmati, about six miles south-west of the later city of Ahmadabad, as his place of residence. The Shaikh was now sixty years of age, and the fame of his wisdom and sanctity was greater than ever. A cordial friendship soon sprang up between the Saint and Zafar Khan, who was then ruling Gujarat on behalf of the tottering empire of the Tughlaks.* There can be no doubt that the advice and blessings of the Saint must have been very potent influences in the foundation of the Gujarat Sultanat when Zafar Khan assumed the rôle of Sultan Muzaffar Shah. The Sultan enrolled himself as a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad, and, on his murder in A. D. 1410, his grandson and successor Ahmad Shah continued to retain the same friendly relations with the Saint. The part which Shaikh Ahmad took in the foundation of the city of Ahmadabad has already been mentioned. Indeed, to him, as the king's spiritual adviser, has been ascribed the first suggestion of the creation of a new capital. "Already at that time (1411) more than seventy-two years of age, he outlived the Sultan, then only twenty, and for yet thirty-five years was spared to watch from his calm retreat at Sarkhej the city's marvellous growth." These thirty-five years must have been a period of honoured and quiet retirement, as no details of its history are recorded. The mutual affection between the Saint and the Sultan continued undisturbed till the death of Ahmad Shah in 1442.† Four years later, in 1446,‡ the Saint, the Chief of Shaikhs, "bade farewell to this world for a better one", having attained the patriarchal age of 111

* The loyalty with which the Saint returned the friendship of Zafar Khan is evidenced by the following incident. In 1408, Tatar Khan, the rebellious son of Zafar Khan, placing his father in confinement, assumed royal state as Sultan Muhammad Shah I. The story runs that he sent a large sum of money as a present to Shaikh Ahmad (anj Baksh, and begged of him to pray for the permanence of his kingdom. The Shaikh refused to accept the gift, and sent it back with the words, "This money belongs to your father; withdraw your hand from its possession."

† A story related in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* shows the mutual affection that bound the Saint and the Sultan, and the pride with which Ahmad Shah performed even lowly offices for his spiritual preceptor. Once, on a dark night, the Shaikh asked for a clod of earth for some ceremonial purification, and the Sultan, without saying a word, handing him one, the Shaikh asked, "Is it *Salah-al-din*?"—this being the name of the Shaikh's servant. The Sultan replied, "No, 'tis I, Ahmad." Whereupon the holy man exclaimed, "Oh, the Virtuous Sultan!" (Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, p. 22.)

‡ The *ta'wil* or chronogram, giving the *Hijri* year of his demise (849), is *Akhir Auliyā* "the last saint."

lunar, or 108 solar years. The Musalman historians of Gujarat verge on rhapsody in showering on him honorific epithets. In one place he is styled "The full Moon of the Truthful and the Argument of the Knowers of God," and in another he is described as "The Moon of the Faithful and the Sun of the Righteous." The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* also gives him the surname of Ganj Bakhsh, "the Treasure Giver", an epithet which cannot be ascribed to any known episode in the life of the Saint, though, without doubt, quite in keeping with his generous character. From a casual reference made by the same historian we learn that Shaikh Ahmad Khattu Ganj Bakhsh received from the Gujarat Sultan an annual grant of "three crores of Gujarat tankas", which sum is computed to be equivalent to seven and a half lakhs of rupees—"a substantial subsidy this," says Dr. Taylor, "to be granted to a Saint living in retirement, for the figure reaches to just three times the salary of the Viceroy."

To commemorate the memory of his family's spiritual preceptor, and of a Saint so famous and so pious, Sarkhej and its Monuments. the Sultan Muhammad II began, in 1446, to erect a splendid Tomb over the Saint's last resting place at Sarkhej, which was completed, in 1451, by his son and successor, Sultan Qutb-ud-din. The Mausoleum of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu is the largest of its kind in Gujarat, and measures 104 feet square. Its exterior walls are panelled, row upon row, with beautiful trellised windows of perforated stone work in every variety of design. The Tomb is surmounted by a large central dome which supports as its finial a brass *pipal* leaf, the cognizance that served as the standard of the Ahmad Shahi Sultans. Over the central entrance of the Tomb is a quatrain in Persian inscribed on pure white marble.* The sarcophagus in the centre of the building is divided off from the rest of the interior by a beautiful screen of perforated brass panels worked in the most wonderful patterns. "We in Europe", remarks Mr. Fergusson, "are proud of the walls of glass that enclose the naves of our Cathedrals. Are they more beautiful than the wall of trellis-work which encloses the Tomb of the Saint? Considering the enormous variety

* The quatrain has been rendered thus:—

"When the ocean of Ahmad's palm pours forth its pearls,
Hope's hem becomes the treasure of Parviz.
No wonder if, in order to bend before his shrine,
The whole surface of the earth raises its head."

Two Persian words in the last line, *rīz*, *Sar Kherz*, form a *paronomasia* or play upon the name Sarkhej.

of design involved in such a screen as this, the beauty of the patterns, and the effect of the subdued light which they shed internally, there is something in all this which would not be easy to match in any part of the world."

The great Mosque at Sarkhej,* adjoining the Tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, is only slightly inferior in size to the Jami Masjid at Ahmadabad, and was probably built about the same time as the Tomb, though its erection is traditionally ascribed to the Saint himself. It differs from those of earlier date in having no arched façade and in the roof being of uniform height throughout and without minarets. But the mosque is the perfection of architectural design, and we can hardly dispute the statement of a competent critic that "except the Moti Masjid at Agra there is probably no mosque in India that surpasses this in simple elegance." The atmosphere of reverent repose which pervades this beautiful House of Prayer in the solitudes of Sarkhej still makes it a charming place of retreat to many. No wonder then that, at a later date, Sarkhej became a favourite resort of the great Sultan Mahmud Begada, who, as we shall record, excavated the great tank, and erected on its sides a magnificent palace and a mausoleum for himself and his family, thus completing the noble group of monuments which have given to this spot so prominent a place for so many centuries in the history of Gujarat. The undying fame of the Saint of Sarkhej has survived the lapse of five centuries, and is attested by the thousands of pilgrims who flock to his tomb annually from the neighbouring city.†

* Of this mosque, James Forbes, writing in 1781, says: "At Sarkhej, a sacred place five miles from Ahmadabad, is a very grand masjid, which is said to be an exact imitation of the temple at Mecca, & highly revered by every pious Musalman. It also contains a complete model of the Ka'ba" (*Oriental Memoirs*). Dr Geo. P. Taylor makes the following interesting comment on this statement: "Well, a hundred and thirty years bring changes, and I am afraid this interesting model has disappeared since Forbes's time. Also the plan of the mosque is certainly quite different from that of the celebrated Masjid-al-Haram of Makka. I fancy, however, Forbes wrote Makka by mistake for Madina, as the Masjid-al-Nabi of the latter city does in its general features bear a marked resemblance to the beautiful mosque at Sarkhej." (*Sarkhej: Its Saint and its Kings*, in *East and West*, September, 1905).

† A little to the south of the group of buildings at Sarkhej, and detached from them, is a small plain whitewashed tomb, the burial place of Baba Ali Shir, a saint held in high veneration as one of the "twelve Babas" or notable Qalandar faquirs who, according to the legend, are said to have helped the four Ahmadads at the founding of the city of Ahmadabad, Tuesday, 3rd March, 1411. In honour of Baba Ali Shir a Musalman fair or *sursa* is held at Sarkhej. H. G. Briggs, writing in 1848, says: "The tomb of Baba Ali Shir is regarded with peculiar veneration, and a standing rule is stoutly upheld that no individual shall be allowed to sleep within its precincts." (*Cities of Gujarat*, p. 280). This Baba Ali Shir of Sarkhej should be distinguished from another of the "twelve Babas," who bore the same name, and was noted for his practice of wearing no clothes.

The monuments at Sarkhej hold a very prominent place in the history of Ahmadabad architecture, being the most interesting and beautiful group of buildings in the city or its vicinity. In the opinion of so eminent an authority as Mr. James Fergusson, "they belong to the best period of the style, 1445 to 1451, and are remarkable throughout for their purity of design and elegance of detail. To the student of Indian architecture, their great interest lies in the fact that they are almost wholly Hindu, or more correctly Jaina, in style, with only the slightest possible reminiscence of what might be called Saracenic architecture in any part. The only arches to be seen are the three of the entrance gateway, and one great constructive arch in the Palace (of Mahmud Begada.) All the rest are as completely Jaina as are the temples on Mount Abu."

V. Sultan Qutb-ud-din, Ahmad Shah II (A.D. 1451-1458).

On being raised to the throne by the nobles, Prince Jalal Khan, the eldest son of Muhammad Shah II, then a youth of about twenty years of age, assumed the style and title of Qutb-ud-dunya wa ud-din, "the Pole-star of the World and of the Faith," Ahmad Shah II, and ruled for the next eight years and a half. In his account of this reign, the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* so ingeniously combines the facts of history with popular traditions of the political influence and the supernatural powers of the Bukhari Saiyids of Gujarat, that it is difficult to attempt to separate the two elements without marring the harmonious effect of the whole narrative. The partiality of our foremost authority for the holy saints is evidently sincere; many of his stories are in themselves pretty or ennobling; and the reader, while interested, is in no danger of being misled.*

* Sikandar bin Muhammad (*alias* Manjhu), the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, dwells, throughout his work, with evident fondness on the acts of the Bukhari Saiyids of Gujarat. Indeed, it appears to be one main object of his history to glorify the connexion of the Saints of this family with the successive kings of the Gujarat Sultanat from the time of Zafar Khan right on to the last monarch's reign. The reason for this partiality may be found in the fact that both the historian and his father (Manjhu) were disciples of and attached to Saiyid Mubarak Bukhari, a nobleman who played a very prominent part in the history of Gujarat during the reigns of Sultans Bahadur and Mahmud III. We must note, however, that this Saiyid Mubarak does not appear to have belonged to that particular branch of the Bukhari Saiyids who first settled in Gujarat, and who were represented by Qutb-ul-Alam, his son Shah Alam, and their descendants. It appears also that the historian Sikandar himself was a darveah, or at least a disciple of darveahs—a term comprising the various schools of Muhammadan mystics who claimed certain supernatural powers—and his work is full of references to their miraculous acts, and of allusions to their peculiar tenets and pretensions.

The young prince was, on his accession, faced with the formidable task of defending his kingdom against the Malwa Sultan, who, with eighty thousand troops, had crossed the boundary, taken the fort of Sultanpur,* plundered Baroda, threatened Broach, and was now encamped on the banks of the Mahi. The tradition is related that when the footsteps of Mahmud Khalji were heard on the frontier, the wisest among the nobles of Gujarat advised the Sultan that, as the kingdom had been originally bestowed on the present dynasty by the Holy Qutb-al-Aqtab Makhdum-i-Jahanian, † he should now consult the Saiyid Burhan-ud-din (Qutb-ul-Alam), who was that saint's grandson and virtual successor. The Saiyid, on being approached, declared that the origin of all the trouble was the offence given to Shaikh Kamal by the hasty and short-sighted conduct of the late Sultan ; but, at the same time, he desired the king to be of good cheer, and promised to do his best. Twice did Burhan-ud-din send his son Shah Alam, whom he familiarly called " Mian Manjhla ", to the offended Shaikh Kamal, to explain to him, with all respect, that it was not right to visit the sins of the father upon the son, and that there was a delight in mercy which revenge could not give. On both occasions the young Shah Alam returned with an abrupt and unfavourable reply. For the third time Qutb-al-Alam persuaded his reluctant son to proceed to the Shaikh and say, " Your servant Burhan-ud-din kisses your feet, and entreats you, by the love by the Prophet, to forgive the offence and to desist from your revenge ; for the people of

* Sultanpur is in the north of the Shahada taluka or sub-division of the British district of West Khandesh. It was till A. D. 1804 a place of consequence.

† Saiyid Jalal Bukhari, universally known as Qutb-al-aqtab Hadrat Makhdum-i-Jahanian (the pole-star of pole-stars, His Highness the Lord of Mortals), the grandfather of Shaikh Burhan-ud-din, was a famous Bukhari Saiyid who appears to have lived in the Panjab (A. D. 1308-1384), and his tomb at Uch, on the banks of the Sutlej, near Bhavalpur, still attracts many devotees. According to the account given us in the *Mirat-i-Sianderi*, the Saint was highly honoured at the court of Delhi at the time when Firuz Tugh-lak returned to the city in company of his wife and her brothers Sadhu and Saharan. Both the latter, after their conversion, became disciples of Makhdum-i-Jahanian, and so also did Zafar Khan, the son of Saharan (Waji-ul-Mulk). One day a great crowd of poor people had assembled at the saint's refectory, but there was no food. Zafar Khan instantly arose, and, collecting a great quantity of the best food and sweetmeats fed the poor darvishes who were so pleased that they burst out into loud shouts of Allahu Akbar. When the Saint within became aware of the cause of these cheers, he sent for Zafar Khan, and addressed him thus : " Zafar Khan, the return-for this feeding of my darvishes is the kingdom of the whole of Gujarat which in reward of this handsome deed I grant thee. May it be auspicious to thee ! " A little later, Zafar Khan, at the advice of his wife, returned to the saint's house with delicate perfumes, sweet-smelling flowers, and delicious fruits, and prayed that the kingdom may continue in his family. The saint took a handful of dates from the tray presented to him, and, giving them to Zafar Khan, said, " Thy seed, like unto these in number, shall rule over Gujarat." The historian adds, " Some say there were twelve, some thirteen dates, others say eleven : God knows which story is true."

Hindustan are a rude and unpolished race, and the men of this country will not be able to live under them." But Shaikh Kamal, who had not attained to the maturity of wisdom, refused his request, and said, "I have for the past seven years prayed to the Lord of Glory that the kingdom of Gujarat should be given to Sultan Mahmud. Why should I now give it to the son of the man who oppressed me? Son of the Saiyid, give my respects to Burhan-ud-din, and say that what he asks is impossible. The arrow which has left the bow cannot return to it." Shah Alam, smiling, repeated the Persian couplet :

" Saints can o'er sins the cloak of grace let fall,
And the sped arrow to the bow recall."

On receiving this apposite reply, the Shaikh flew into a rage, and producing the divine *farman* granting the kingdom of Gujarat to Sultan Mahmud Khalji, exclaimed, "Look you towards the Divine Tablet on which the destinies of creation are indited." The blood of Hashim in the veins of Shah Alam waxed hot, and tearing the paper to shreds, he replied : "This writ, without the authentication of the Qutb-al-aqtab (Saint Burhan-ud-din), is useless". Then, at last, the Shaikh, perceiving that his spiritual power paled before that of Shah Alam, and that the Will of Allah was otherwise than what he believed it to be, immediately fainted and expired !

The story related above gives us some idea of the social position of these holy men and the great political power which they seem to have exercised. The historical fact underlying this exchange of amenities between the holy men of Gujarat appears to be that there was, at this time, a struggle for political power between two rival sects or schools of mystic devotees. One endeavoured to secure it by a traitorous alliance with Mahmud Khalji of Malwa, whose restless ambition was seeking some occasion to attack Gujarat ; the other party, of which Saiyid Burhan-ud-din was the head, tried to sustain the reigning dynasty. The latter triumphed, and "the death of the leader of the opposite party does not, perhaps, require a supernatural explanation."

Encouraged by the favour of the holy Saiyid and of the darvesses, Sultan Qutb-ud-din set out to conduct the war against the intruder. Before doing so, he requested Saiyid Burhan-ud-din to accompany him, so that the sanctity of his presence might give victory to his arms. The Saint, unable to comply, none the less desired his son Shah Alam to go with the Sultan. After the second day's march, Shah Alam, unable to procure water for performing his ceremonial ablutions, or to

bear the hardships of camp life, asked for permission to return to Ahmadabad. The Sultan was much distressed, but was assured by the Saint that the divine pleasure had decreed victory to his arms. Qutb-ud-din then requested Shah Alam to give him his sword as a token of good fortune; but the Saint replied, "The sword of darvesses, their staff, their slippers, their rosary, all possess intelligence. God forbid that you should do anything hostile to darvesses, but *if you did*, the sword might injure you." When the king protested against the possibility of such an event happening, the Saint answered, "The time will come when God appoints." Finding the Sultan in tears, Shah Alam reluctantly girded his sword round the waist of the king. It so happened that the Malwa Sultan had in his camp an elephant named Ghalib Jang,* who, when in a state of fury, was so terrible and destructive that he was known in the army as "the Butcher." Shah Alam, selecting a young elephant from the Gujarat camp, placed his hands on it, saying, "O Shudani! † by the help of Allah tear open the belly of the Butcher." Then, placing in his bow an arrow without a feather and without a point, he shot it in the direction of Sultan Mahmud's army, saying, "This arrow breaks the sceptre of Mahmud". After thus blessing the arms of his sovereign, Shah Alam returned to Ahmadabad.

The armies of Gujarat and Malwa encountered each other in the vicinity of the town of Kapadwanj, ‡ and "the rolling billows of war dashed together like the waves of the ocean." The Malwa Sultan placed the elephant Ghalib Jang in front of his army, hoping by means of that key to open the locked ranks of the enemy, little knowing "that the lock closed by Destiny cannot be opened by the key of human device." At first, Sultan Qutb-ud-din's left flank was routed by the right of the Malwa army, and the enemy, breaking into the Gujarati camp carried off the crown, girdle, and other valuables belonging to Sultan Qutb-ud-din. But, before long, the Gujarati right attacked and broke Sultan Mahmud's left. The battle then became general. Qutb-ud-din called out to his men to bring up the elephant Shudani, who at once charged the Butcher. At that moment a band of the brave inhabitants of Dholka, called Darwazias, dismounted from their horses, and hamstrung the Butcher, who fell to the ground, and the tusks of Shudani ripped up his entrails. Just at this instant an arrow shot by an unseen hand pierced the royal umbrella of Sultan Mahmud

* Ghalib Jang—"the overpowering in battle."

† Shudani—"promising."

‡ Kapad anj is the chief town of the sub-division of that name in the British district of Kaira (Kheda).

Thus was wrought the miracle which the Saint had predicted, and the army of Sultan Mahmud Khalji, on beholding it, took to flight (A.D. 1451).

The story is related that when Mahmud Khalji reached the frontiers of Gujarat, he was waited upon by some Hindu accountants who had been dismissed by the late Sultan Muhammad Shah II. He asked them for a statement of the revenues of Gujarat, and, on looking at it, he perceived that two-sixths were appropriated to the *jagirs* of the soldiery, and that one-sixth was assigned to religious persons and endowments. This proportion of charitable endowments existed in the time of Qutb-ud-din. Mahmud observed that the conquest of Gujarat was a difficult undertaking, because it had one army for day and another for night, meaning by the latter an army of holy men who spent the night in prayer for the kingdom.

After the battle of Kapadwanj, Sultan Qutb-ud-din returned triumphant to Ahmadabad, and abandoned himself to his passion for wine and gross sensuality. At the same time he kept up the tradition of his house for architectural works. He completed the Mausoleum of the holy Shaikh Ahmad Ganj Bakhsh at Sarkhej, which his father had begun, and erected the Hauz-i-Kankariya, with the Nagina Bag in its centre and the palace of Ghattamandal. We shall give a fuller description of this famous reservoir and its accompaniments when we turn to review the monuments of the reign of Sultan Qutb-ud-din. Sikandar bin Muhammad, the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, writing about A.D. 1611, says that he saw them all, and that they appeared to him "as magnificent as the mansions of Paradise, and as lovely as the gardens of Eden."

The next war of Sultan Qutb-ud-din was with Rana Kumbha,* the celebrated poet-king of Chitor, whose warlike spirit made him a formidable neighbour to the Sultans of both Malwa and Gujarat. The immediate cause of the war, which continued to the end of the reign, was the help solicited by Shams Khan of Nagor, a kinsman of Qutb-ud-din, who gave the Sultan his daughter in marriage. On one occasion, when the Sultan was on his way towards Chitor, the Raja of Sirohi attended his

* Rana Kumbha of Chitor was one of the most powerful of the kings of the Mewar dynasty. His reign extended from A.D. 1428 to 1468, and it is to him that we owe the later of the two towers which still adorn the brow of the deserted capital of Chitor. It was erected to commemorate Kumbha's victory over Mahmud Khalji of Malwa, in the year 1440. Mr. Fergusson observes, "It is in Indian phraseology a *Kirti* or *Jaya Stambha* or Pillar of Victory, like that of Trajan at Rome, but in infinitely better taste as an architectural object than the Roman example, though in sculpture it may be inferior. It is nine storeys in height, each of which is distinctly marked on the exterior." (*History of Indian and Eastern Arch.* Vol. II, pp. 59-60).

camp, and prayed for help to recover the fortress of Abu, which had always belonged to his ancestors, and of which he had been deprived by Kumbha Rana. The Sultan deputed Malik Shaban, Imdad-ul-Mulk, one of his generals, to take possession of Abu and hand it over to the chief. Malik Shaban, however, being unacquainted with warfare in a mountainous country, was entangled in the defiles near Abu and defeated by Kumbha's troops with great slaughter. At a later date, Qutb-ud-din was himself able to capture Abu, and to restore it to its former chief, and this famous hill-fortress still forms part of the territories of the Devra Rajputs of Sirohi. About A.D. 1457, Sultan Mahmud Khalji sent envoys to say that strife between the followers of Islam resulted in peace and security to the 'infidels,' and suggested that the rulers of Malwa and Gujarat should enter into an alliance jointly to wage war on the Rana of Chitor and to divide his dominions equally between them. His proposal was accepted, but the expedition only succeeded so far that the Rana agreed to pay tribute and not to molest Nagor—a promise that was broken before very long.

Soon after the battle of Kapadwanj, a coldness appears to have come over the affection that existed between Sultan Qutb-ud-din and Shah Alam.*

Alam. This was due partly to the fact that, after the accession of Qutb-ud-din, Bibi Mughali, the widow of Sultan Muhammad Shah, went over, with the young Fateh Khan, to live with her sister Bibi Mirgi in the house of Shah Alam, in order to give her son the protection of the Saint's influence. The action of Bibi Mughali was fully justified by the sinister designs which the Sultan evidently cherished against his half-brother, of which many stories are related. To the open demand of Qutb-ud-din, that Shah Alam should hand over Fateh

* The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* gives the following story to account for the estrangement Shah Alam, when departing from the Sultan's camp prior to the battle of Kapadwanj, asked him to vow some offering to the spirits of the prophets of the faith if he attained his wishes. The Sultan offered to give one *tankas* of gold for each of the prophets to be divided among the poor. The Saint thought the amount was too great; but, as the Sultan insisted, Shah Alam said, "Then let the *tankas* be silver, and not gold." The Sultan agreed. After the victory the Sultan sent 70,000 silver *tankas*; but Shah Alam returned the money saying that the number of the prophets was far greater than 70,000. As Qutb-ud-din remained firm, the Saint divided among the poor a lakh and twenty-four thousand of silver *tankas* from his own treasury. Some time after, the Sultan, suppressing all reference to his agreement, casually remarked to Saint Burhan-ud-din, "I sent 70,000 *tankas* of silver to Shah Alam to be given in charity; he did not honour me by accepting them, but sent them back." Burhan-ud-din remonstrated with Shah Alam, "My son, a thank-offering for a victory is not a matter for haggling. You should not have returned the money." Shah Alam, out of politeness, remained silent. But he was offended with Sultan Qutb-ud-din about his action, and this circumstance was the root of the coldness that now began between the two and increased as time went on.

Khan, the Saint replied that the young man had, for fear of his life, sought refuge with the darvesses, and it would ill become the latter to give him up to the Sultan. Foiled in this attempt, Qutb-ud-din determined to possess himself of his brother's person by stratagem. He employed spies to watch the lad, and himself moved out to the palace of Khedpur, near Rasulabad, where the Saint lived, in order to be near at hand for action. On one occasion he sent Rani Rup Manjari, his favourite wife, who was a disciple of Shah Alam, to visit the Saint with a party of eunuchs, and instructed her to enquire for Fateh Khan, and to seize him and carry him away. The Rani saw the lad sitting near Shah Alam, and attempted to take him with her. The Saint smiled and said, "To-day, Bibi, you take Fateh Khan by the hand, but one day he shall take you by the hand." Eventually the Saint's prediction was fulfilled, for Fateh Khan, when he succeeded his brother as Mahmud Shah, married Queen Rup Manjari. On hearing the Saint's words, the Rani dropped the boy's hand, and, returning to the Sultan, excused herself by saying that, however much she searched, she could not find Fateh Khan. Another day the spies brought intelligence to Qutb-ud-din that Fateh Khan was at his lessons with Shah Alam. The Sultan at once mounted a fleet horse, and galloping up, was about to enter the house, when he was stopped by one of the porters, named Mukbil. "Do you stop me from paying my respects to the Saint?" cried the Sultan in a loud voice. When Shah Alam heard this, he called out to the porter to let the Sultan pass, and said to Fateh Khan, "Read on, old man"; and the boy of ten at once assumed the appearance of an old man, with grey hair and brows and a bent back. Sultan Qutb-ud-din sat down on the carpet for a few minutes, but seeing no one but the Saint and the old man, he got up and went away, and vented his wrath on his spies. Sultan Mahmud Begada himself used to say:—In those days they used to dress me in girl's clothes to guard against the possibility of my being recognised by the Sultan's spies, for the search after me was very active. One day, while I was on the balcony with my nurse, the spies gave information to the Sultan, who ran up intending to kill me. The Saint, being informed of the danger, only said, "It is ill done, but how will he take the *tiger*?" The Sultan took me by the hand, and my nurse cried out, "She is the daughter of so-and-so, a Bukhari Saiyid." The Sultan, finding me to be a girl, let go my hand, and returned to his companions. They said, "You should in any case have brought the child away"; so he returned and again took my hand, but finding it to be a *tiger's* paw, he was so terrified that he dropped it at once, and ceased to pursue me any more.

Another event which happened about this time helped to widen the estrangement between Sultan Qutb-ud-din and Shah Alam. Bibi Mirgi, the Saint's wife, died ; and Shah Alam informed Bibi Mughali that her sister's death admitted of the possibility of her marrying him. It is said that the lady was overcome with care and grief, but that her uncle, the Jam of Sind, now informed her that both her father and mother had originally designed her for Shah Alam. The Saint also remembered his father's prediction, and finding that his affection for Bibi Mughali was returned by her, he married her. The rancour of the Sultan at the marriage of Shah Alam with his father's widow knew no bounds, and, according to some accounts, it led him into an action that ended in his own destruction.

Different stories are related of the manner in which Sultan Qutb-ud-din came by his death. It is said that one day, after Shah Alam's second marriage, the Sultan, intoxicated with wine, mounted his horse, and gave orders for the plunder of Rasulabad, the suburb where the Saint resided. His men, frightened at these impious commands, knew not what to do, until the Sultan himself set the example, and by hand and tongue urged on the work of destruction. God Almighty so ordained that an infuriated camel appeared, the Sultan slashed at it with his sword, but missed it, and cut his own knee. He was placed in a *palkhi*, and carried to his palace, where he died (A.D. 1458). People said it was not really a camel, but the Angel of Death who assumed this form, also that the sword was the same which Shah Alam had reluctantly given to Sultan Qutb-ud-din at the opening of the war with Mahmud Khalji. According to another account, the Sultan, one day, wished to show the ladies of his harem the city of Ahmadabad, and orders were issued that the male population of the city should stay at home and keep their windows closed. He took the ladies from street to street, when a man suddenly came into sight. In great rage the Sultan drew his sword and struck at him, but the man slipped away, and the king cut his own knee, and the wound caused his death. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi** relates

* The *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi*, a work giving an account of the reign of Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat (A.D. 1526-1536), was written by a nobleman hereditarily connected with the Court of Ahmadabad. When the Emperor Humayun invaded Gujarat and defeated Sultan Bahadur in 1535, the author of the "Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi" was with the Sultan's army. Sikandar (the author of the "Mirat-i-Sikandari") says that his father Manjhi, the Librarian of the Emperor, on this occasion saved the life of the author of the "Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi," with whom he had some previous acquaintance, by concealing him in his own tent. In the "Mirat-i-Sikandari" we have frequent references to this "Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi," which served as one of the sources on which Sikandar based his work.

that the Sultan was poisoned by his wife, the daughter of Shams Khan of Nagor, with a view that her father might succeed to the throne of Gujarat. When the Sultan was in his last agony, his nobles put Shams Khan to death, and the Sultan's mother ordered her slave girls to tear the unsuspecting queen to pieces. Before long the innocence of both father and daughter was proved.

It is difficult, in the absence of historical material, to accept any of the stories mentioned above, the first of which is evidently intended by the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* to glorify the dervishes generally and the Bukhari Sayyids in particular. Neither Firishta, nor our other authorities, ascribe Qutb-ud-din's death to anything save natural causes. Be this as it may, the Sultan was cut off in the prime of life, being not yet twenty-nine years of age. His personal valour is praised by all, and gained him, after his death, the title of *Ghazi* or "Champion of the Faith." But he was of a violent temper, and, when under the influence of drink, he was absolutely reckless in shedding blood. His abandonment to profligacy and debauchery is acknowledged by all writers, and probably sent him to an early grave. He was buried in the royal mausoleum in the Maneck Chok at Ahmadabad, by the side of his father and his illustrious grandfather.

On the death of Sultan Kutb-ud-din, the *amirs* placed on the throne Daud, the uncle of the late ruler, and a son of Sultan Ahmad Shah I. Before, however, he had been properly invested as a ruler he raised a carpet-spreader to the dignity of a noble and began petty economies in the royal household. Such acts of imbecility led to his deposition, after he had reigned only seven, or according to other accounts twenty-seven, days (A.D. 1458). The nobles then approached Bibi Mughali, and persuaded her to allow them to raise Fateh Khan, then merely thirteen years old, to the throne of his fathers, and, thereafter taking him to the Bhadra, proclaimed him sovereign with the title of Sultan Mahmud Shah. Daud fled by a back-door of the palace and betook himself to a monastery, where he died shortly after.

The Hanz-i-Qutb or Kankariya Tank, situated about half a mile to the south-east of the Rayapur gate Monuments of at Ahmadabad, still perpetuates the memory of Sultan Qutb-ud-din. It is said to have been begun by the Sultan during the lifetime of his father Muhammad Shah II, and completed in 1451. The lake, one of

the largest of its kind in India, is a regular polygon of 34 sides, having a circumference of nearly a mile and a quarter, and enclosing an area of 76 acres.* In the centre of the lake is an island connected with the bank by a viaduct which was once supported on 48 narrow arches. During the palmy days of the Gujarat Sultanat this island contained a garden called Nagina ('the jewel') and a palace known as Ghattamandal, and was a favourite resort of the later Ahmadabad kings and the Mughal viceroys. The supply sluice to the east of the lake is exquisitely carved. "In almost any other country", says Dr. Jas. Burgess, "and with other nationalities, a sluice would be considered so distinctly a piece of engineering masonry, that the builder would scarcely dream of making it a pleasing architectural feature." But the architects of Ahmadabad thought differently, for their genius has transformed the sluices at Kankariya and Sarkhej into exquisite works of art.† At each end of the sluice is a buttress which resembles the bases of the minars of the Ahmadabad mosques of the period. The screen between the buttresses or jambs, which is 6½ feet thick, is carefully carved and pierced by three large circular openings, each six feet in diameter, with ornamental margins. In the seventeenth century the Kankariya lake was one of the sights of Ahmadabad, and Mandelslo, Thevenot, and other European travellers of the period give enthusiastic accounts of the beauty of the place. When, however, James Forbes visited the Kankariya Tank in 1781, its site and accompaniments were in a desolate condition, partly as the result of Maratha misrule. The approaches were in ruins, the viaduct had fallen in, and the island had no traces of a garden or a palace. In this condition it remained till 1872, when Mr. Borradaile, the District Collector, carried out the repairs and restoration on a suitable scale. Of the name Kankariya two stories are told: one is that the lake was so called from the quantity of limestone (*kankar*) dug out of it during the excavation; the other says that a pebble (*kankra*) found its

* The lake is entirely surrounded by many tiers of cut stone steps, most of which still remain in tolerable preservation. It had also six sloping approaches for the drawing of water by bullocks, flanked by square cupolas, each raised on twelve pillars.

† "Another object of architectural beauty (at Ahmadabad) is found in the inflow and outflow sluices of the great tanks which abound everywhere around the city. Nowhere did the inhabitants of Ahmadabad show how essentially they were an architectural people, as in these utilitarian works. It was a necessity of their nature that every object should be made ornamental, and their success was as great in these as in their mosques or palaces." (Ferguson, *Hist. of Ind. and Eastern Archit.*, Vol. II, p. 241).

way into the shoe and hurt the foot of Muhammad Shah II, when he came to inspect the progress of his son's work.*

Reference has already been made to the name of Malik Shaban in connection with the wars of Qutb-ud-din. He was one of the principal officers at the court of Ahmadabad, being ennobled with the titles of Imad-ul-Mulk and Malik-us-Sharq (the "Lord of the East"). His father was Malik Tuhfah-e-Sultani, who received from the great Sultan Ahmad Shah the title of Taj-ul-Mulk in 1415, and was commissioned by him to destroy all idol temples in Gujarat. During the reign of the Sultan Qutb-ud-din, Malik Shaban constructed some important works which still survive. A mosque was erected by him in 1452 at Ahmad-

* Among other monuments at Ahmedabad, which belong to this reign, we may mention (1) Qutb-ud-din Shah's Mosque, (2) Darya Khan's Tomb, and (3) The Rajapur Mosque. A brief review of each may be given —

(1) The mosque known as Qutb ud-din Shah's is situated in the northern part of the city, to the south of the Delhi gate. It was built by the Sultan in 1449, shortly before the death of his father Muhammad Shah II. The mosque is not remarkable for its architectural design.

(2) Darya Khan's Rauza is a great brick structure, situated about a mile to the north of the Delhi gate of the city, on the way towards Shah-i-Bagh. It was erected, during his lifetime, by Darya Khan in the suburb of Daryapur which he had founded. The date ascribed to the Rauza is A.D. 1452. Darya Khan was a talented but abandoned nobleman, who afterwards became one of Mahmud Begada's ministers. The tomb is a massive building, and is the largest of its kind in Gujarat, but there is nothing to recommend it beyond the height of the dome and the great solidity of the walls, which are fully nine feet thick. It belongs to a style as different from the special type of Ahmedabad architecture "as Gothic is from Roman." Mr. Fergusson observes: "There are hundreds, perhaps it would be safe to say thousands, of such tombs scattered over the plains of Hindustan. They are solid, massive buildings, unmistakably appropriate to the purpose to which they are dedicated, and capable of an expression of sublimity—as we see at Bijapur—to which the more elegant style of Ahmedabad could not attain. If gloom is to be associated with the grave, this is the more appropriate style of the two; but this was not the insinuation in which death presented itself to the sovereigns of Ahmedabad in the great age, and the cheerful elegance with which they surrounded their burying-places shadowed forth a happier philosophy." (Hope and Fergusson, *Architecture of Ahmedabad*, pp. 93, 94). Some interesting popular traditions connected with Darya Khan and his Rauza deserve to be mentioned. H. G. Briggs relates a story that on the completion of the building by Darya Khan, Shah Alam was solicited to sanctify it with his presence. But the famous Saint declined the invitation, and remarked that the edifice appeared a fitting asylum for *Bhuts* (Imps of Darkness). Either the Khan's reprobate life, or his tortuous methods as a politician, appear to have led to the sobriquet of King of the Bhuts by which he is known (*Cities of Gujarat*, p. 312). Owing to these associations, as also from the air of gloomy darkness that pervades it, the tomb of Darya Khan is still popularly believed to be haunted. On the day before *Diwali* (the Hindu New Year Eve or Feast of Lamps), hundreds of credulous people flock to the tomb, awaiting the hour of midnight, when his Satanic Majesty is supposed to visit his resting place, and all come away firmly believing that they have seen him.

(3) The mosque known as Bibiji's at the village of Rajapur Hirpur, about a mile south-east from the Sarangpur gate of the city, was according to its inscription erected in A.D. 1454. It was built by the Sultan Qutb-ud-din in honour of the wife of Sayid Budha bin Sayid Yaqui.

abad, and stands near the Khas Bazar. The Rauza of Malik Shaban, situated outside the city-walls in the village lands of Rakhiyal, was also erected in 1452 on lands bequeathed to him and his descendants by the Sultan for his public services.* The reservoir or lake, which adjoins the Rauza, also goes under the name of Malik Shaban's Talav. † After the death of Sultan Qutb-ud-din, Malik Shaban rose to higher honours under Sultan Mahmud Begada, being elevated to the dignity of *vazir*, in charge of which office he is said to have managed affairs with unusual credit and success. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* says that he was a very ingenious man, and of a very gentle disposition, and kept all the people contented with his administration. Eventually he became a religious devotee and retired into privacy, and, in spite of pressing requests from the Sultan Mahmud he declined to resume his office, saying that "in one day in his garden and in his retirement he had more rest than in all his life before."

During the early years of the reign of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Saint Burhan-ud-din of Vatva. there passed away, in 1453, at the village of Vatva, a saint who traced his descent from the Bukhari Saiyids (a sect held in high esteem among the followers of the Prophet), to whose piety and influence reference has been frequently made in the preceding pages. This was Saiyid Burhan-ud-din Qutb-ul-Alam, sometimes known as Qutb-al-Aqtab (the pole-star of pole-stars), whose fame for sanctity among the Musalmans of Gujarat is hardly inferior to that of the Saint of Sarkhej. He was the grandson of the famous Saint Saiyid Jalal Bukhari, Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan (the Lord of Mortals), to whom Saharan and his son Zafar Khan attached themselves at the court of Sultan Firuz Tughlak at Delhi; and the same saint as is said to have prophetically promised Zafar Khan the country of Gujarat in return for an act of kindness towards the poor. Our authorities are not in agreement as regards the early career of Saiyid Burhan-

* The Rauza of Malik Shaban is about two miles east of the city, on the outskirts of the village of Rakhiyal. It is surrounded by a garden which goes by the name of this noble. Inside the Rauza are two inscription slabs to the effect that Sultan Qutb-ud-din had ordered to be bestowed on Malik Shaban (entitled by royalty Malik-ush-Shan, Imad-ul-Mulk, and Aziz-ul-Mamalik) and on his descendants six ploughs (*juftcar*) of land, "out of the area of Mauza Rakhiyal, a dependency of the circuit of the renowned city of Ahmadabad," at the place where the Malik had "caused wells to be dug, trees to be planted and irrigation channels to be made." The date is the 21st May 1452.

† The Malik Shaban lake at Rakhiyal, though less known, is hardly inferior in size to the Kankariya Tank, covering an area of 71 acres. Its sides are in good preservation, but the bed is so silted up as to hold no depth of water.

ud-din. According to *Khafi Khan** he came to Gujarat from Delhi when grown up, being probably attracted to the court of Ahmadabad during the brilliant reign of Ahmad Shah. That Sultan soon came to acknowledge his supreme piety and learning, and enrolled himself as one of his disciples. According to tradition, for many years during his stay at Ahmadabad, the Saint took a daily ride to Vatva, a village six miles to the south of the city, and his partiality for the place ultimately led to his making it his home. Qutb-ul-Alam soon gathered round him a band of dervishes, and thus became the founder of the Bukhariah Saiyids of Gujarat; and his descendants, as headmen of the sect, continued to exercise powerful influence at the court of the Ahmad Shahi Sultans to the end of the dynasty. Saiyid Usman, one of the twelve sons of Shaikh Burhan-ud-din, whom his father used to call the "Burhani lamp", founded the suburb of Usmanpur, where his mosque and tomb are to be seen; † and Saiyid Shah Alam, one of his youngest sons, was destined to be the most celebrated member of the family.

On the death of Qutb-ul-Alam in 1453, the nobles of the court of Sultan Qutb Shah first erected a small shrine over his remains; and the piety of the next Sultan, Mahmud Begada, subsequently

* *Khafi Khan*, whose original name is Muhammad Hashim, was the author of the work called *Tarikh Khafi Khan*, which is also called *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, an excellent history of Hindustan commencing with the invasion of the Emperor Babur and continued to the accession of Muhammad Shah. The author was a person of good family, who resided at Delhi during the latter part of the reign of Alamgir (Aurangzib), where he compiled his history; but, in consequence of the well-known prohibition of that monarch, he was obliged to conceal his intentions, and for some other causes did not publish it till the 14th year of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, A.D. 1732. The work was well received, and the author was honoured with the title of *Khafi Khan*, or 'the concealed.' (Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*). English extracts from *Khafi Khan*'s history may be found in Dowson's Elliot, Vol. VII.

† Saiyid Usman, who, according to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, was called by his father *Sham-i-Burhani*—"the Burhani lamp"—founded the suburb of Usmanpur (about a mile to the north-west of Ahmadabad, on the right bank of the Sabarmati River, nearly opposite to the mosque of Bibi Achut Kuki). He is said to have died in 1458, and the Sultan Mahmud Begada, on his accession, built a mosque and tomb to his memory, which must have been completed about 1460. The *Masjid* at Usmanpur is one of the first at Ahmadabad where the minarets are transferred from the middle of the facade to its extremities. The style, however, "is strictly Hindu, without any arch, as in the mosque at Sarkhej, but with the advantage of possessing minarets, the want of which is the great defect in that group." The *Bawna*, adjoining the mosque, being for a *Pir*, is much larger, relatively to the mosque, than is usual in other cases.

The suburb of Usmanpur (Othmanpur) was the site of the encampment of Sultan *Mazafar Shah III* in A.D. 1583, during his second and final conflict with the troops of the Emperor Akbar for the recovery of his throne.

reared over them a vast mausoleum, which, in magnitude and design, may be compared with that erected at Sojali near Mahmudabad, in 1484, by Mubarak Saiyid, one of the ministers of that monarch. The mausoleum of the Saint at Vatva shows a further step in the development of the Ahmadabad style. It is essentially in the foreign or arcuate style. "The arch is used consistently throughout—it is not a screen of arches hiding a columnar interior, but one design uniform in all its parts. It supplies the place of the beam, and gives, in consequence, immensely increased dimensions to the building, and it must be admitted with considerable beauty and propriety of effect." The aisles are arched and vaulted throughout, and the dome is raised high in the air by a second tier of arches. The whole of the outer row of piers with their arches have, however, fallen, and the entire mausoleum is at present in a seriously dilapidated condition.*

Before passing from the subject of Vatva and its Saint we must say a few words about the famous lithoxyl (petrified wood) which has been reverently preserved by the descendants of Burhan-ud-din, and is still exhibited to visitors as a proof of the Saint's miraculous powers. We learn from the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* that the Emperor Humayun, during his temporary occupation of Gujarat in the reign of Sultan Bahadur, arrived at Ahmadabad after the conquest of Champanir. He pitched his camp at the village of Ghiathpur, two *kos* to the south of the city, and paid a visit to the tomb of Hadrat Qutb-al-Aqtab Saiyid Burhan-ud-din at Vatva, where he was shown the *Loh-lakkar* stone which he pronounced a marvel such as he had never seen before. It is related of this stone that, on one occasion, when the Saint was proceeding from his house to the Masjid at the time of the *tahajjud* or midnight prayers, his foot struck something which pained him. Picking it up, he exclaimed : "What can this be—is it stone or wood or iron ?" And lo ! the divine force of his words transformed the material into what the Saint fancied it to be, and God in one night joined the three things into one. When, on the next day, the people gathered to see it, the Saint ordered it to be concealed deep in the earth, and pronounced the penalty that whosoever should dig it up shall be issueless. After some

* On a pillar in the great Mausoleum are two bombastic Persian distichs which read:

"Qutb Alam who is sovereign of the spheres,

Has by this Rauza augmented the glory of the spheres.

'Ere this the vault of the sky had no crown ;

His Gumbaz became the crown of the spheres.

Composed by the born slave of the family—Jalal bin Muhammed bin Jalal Shahi."

years a merchant brought it to light, saying that he was content to be issueless if only he could make manifest the miracle of the Saint. Since then the lithoxyl has been exhibited to all, high and low. When the great Emperor Akbar visited Ahmadabad, he took away half of it to Agra, and left the other half in its place, where it is still preserved as an auspicious relic.*

* Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, pp. 196-7, and Jarrett, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 241.

H. G. Briggs who visited Vatva and its monuments in 1848 quotes an extract from a letter written to him by another visitor who had shortly preceded him : " The size mentioned by Abul Fazl (a cubit-square) is correct : the stone is not now on the sepulchre, but deposited in the chief Sayid's house. Great reverence is paid it, and upon such occasions as visitors desire to see it, it is produced under a covering of brocade and shown with considerable ostentation. It appears to be petrified wood : the barky part gives it the appearance of iron oxydised, that portion, where it has been chipped by the hand of Akbar himself when he visited Vatva, shows the fibre or vein of the wood : and upon the opposite side, where it seems to have been ground crosswise, it bears the appearance of stone." Briggs himself proceeds to add : " I deemed it a lithoxyle, of which numbers might be discovered in private and public collections, but the poor Sayids laboured under the belief that this was the isolated exception in the universe, and with fond garrulity remarked that its chief merit was the value set upon it by the religious fanatic (sic) whose name and fame cast their effulgence over the hamlet of Vatva." (*Cities of Gujerashtra*, p. 295.)

(*To be continued.*)

ART. VI—*The Life-story of the Old Portuguese Bell in the National Dabul Church at Girgaum, Bombay, From A.D. 1674.*

By

RUSTAMJI NASARVANJI MUNSHI.

(Read 11th January 1918).

My Paper¹ on the Portuguese Bell in the Hindu Temple at Nasik read before this Society in September 1913 seemed to have awakened some curiosity in those interested in antiquarian lore. Mr. L. J. Sedgwick, I. C. S., of Ahmedabad, in his letter dated the 7th July 1914, drew my attention to a similar Portuguese bell hanging in a Hindu temple near Wai. Mr. Joseph Bocarro of Bombay whose kind help in translating some Portuguese inscriptions I have already acknowledged in my above Paper, wrote to me on the 11th July 1914: "I was not aware that your Paper was to deal with Bells only, otherwise I should have suggested to you that there is a Portuguese bell with a history, in the Portuguese Church at Burrows Lane (Dabul), Bombay."

It is with regard to this bell of the Church of St. Francis Xavier (1506—1552) at Dabul, Girgaum, Bombay, that I propose to speak in this Paper now before you.

With a note of introduction from Mr. Joseph Bocarro, I had two interviews with the Vicar of the Dabul Church, one on Sunday the 19th July 1914 and the other on Wednesday the 22nd July 1914. Both these interviews in themselves were productive of no result. A servant-boy whom the Vicar was, however, good enough to place at my disposal, led me to the belfry where this huge bell hung, totally neglected, uncared-for and, very probably, unknown to many of the parishioners of the great Dabul Church. Climbing a bamboo-ladder that the boy procured for me, I tried to make the best of my opportunities by copying down the protuberant inscription that encircled the bell.

When I visited this bell for the third time on Saturday the 17th June 1916, I measured the bell with some great difficulty owing to its hugeness and the great height in the belfry at which it was hung.

1. "An Inquiry as to how a Bell in the Portuguese Church at Borivili came to be transferred to a Hindu Temple at Nasik" read on the 18th September 1913, and published in the *Journal, E. R. R. A. Society*, Vol. XXIII., No. LXVII., 1913, pp. 328-348.



THE OLD PORTUGUESE BELL (A.D. 1674) NOW IN THE
NATIONAL DABUL CHURCH AT GIRGAUM, BOMBAY.

I shall now endeavour to trace the history of the bell, dividing my subject into the following two main heads:—

I.—The History of the Bell at Bassein, from A.D. 1674 to A.D. 1739.

II.—The History of the Bell at Bombay from A.D. 1739 to 1917.

Before I proceed with my Paper under the above heads, I beg to acknowledge my great indebtedness to the Ecclesiastical Department of the Bombay Government for the various communications regarding this bell so kindly and promptly supplied to me from time to time, without which it would not have been possible to prepare this Paper.

**I. The History of the Bell at Bassein from
A.D. 1674 to A.D. 1739.**

As to the first place to which the bell belonged, we have no authorities to help us to arrive at any definite conclusion except Mr. James Douglas (1826—1904) who thinks it "may have hung in the great tower of the Cathedral of St. Joseph, now dismantled, at Bassein."¹

This Church of St. Joseph was built in or about the year 1546 during the Governorship of Joseph, Bassein, Dom Joâo de Castro. It was rebuilt in 1546. 1601 by Pedro Galvao, the Vicar of the Matriz, who died at Goa on the 19th March 1618, but whose mortal remains were subsequently translated from Goa, where they were first interred, to this chapel which he had managed and enlarged.²

This bell is unusually large—at least larger than the Portuguese Bell³ in the Nasik Temple. The measurements of the bell. measurements, as taken down by me on Saturday the 17th June 1916, are as under. .

					Ft.	In.
Height	..	..	..	..	3	3
Circumference (upper)	..	..	..	..	5	5
,, (middle)	..	..	..	..	7	3
,, (lower, i.e. at the brim)	..	..	..	..	12	0
Diameter (middle)	..	..	..	..	2	4
,, (at the brim)	..	..	..	..	4	0

¹ James Douglas, *Bombay and Western India*, 1893, Vol. II., p. 228 (No. QXJ 7) ~~as~~ N. B.—To facilitate an easy and a ready reference, I give parenthetically the numbers of the books consulted as given in the General Catalogue of the Library of our B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Part I (Authors) printed in 1917.

² Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, *Notes on the History of Chaul and Bassein*, 1876, pp. 214-15 (HH 19.) ³ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXIII., No. LXVII., 1913, p. 232.

According to Douglas, its weight is about 10 Cwts.¹

The bell which is dated 1674 has a protuberant Latin-Portuguese inscription as under:—

†

I. H. S.

Quis mihi det ut ego moriar et cognoscant te omnes
fines terrae

Ofes Hiram Tavarres Bocarro
dees anno 1674.

Translation.—Who will give to me that I could die for Thee,
and that all nations of the earth would recognise Thee?

Maker, Hiram Tavarres Bocarro, 1674.

I. H. S. are the initials of the words Jesus Homo Salvator
meaning Jesus the Saviour of Man.

The date 1674 on the bell may be (a) the date of its casting or

The date 1674 on (b) the date of its presentation to the Church
the bell. of St. Joseph by a devout Roman Catholic of
the Bassein territory or (c) the date of both,—casting and presenta-
tion. I am inclined to favour the last view. Hiram Tavarres

¹ The April number of the *Millgate Monthly* contains a very interesting article, by Mr. C. F. Page, on Bells.

The writer tells of their great antiquity, and some of the various uses to which they were put in the ancient world. Small bells came early into use in the Christian Church in this country. Bede makes reference to one which Benedict brought from Italy for his abbey at Wearmouth about 680, and from him we also learn that bells were in use about that time at Whitby Abbey. In connection with the different offices of the Church there were the Ave Maria bell, the Vesper bell, and the Sanctus bell. Another special bell, the Curfew, played a part in our national life in Norman times. Probably these early bells were cast by the monks. "Great Tom" of Lincoln was cast in the Minster yard in 1610, and the great bell of Canterbury was cast in the Cathedral yard in 1762. Nevertheless bell-founding had become a trade, and some of the foundries are three or four centuries old. The art of bell-founding is anything but an easy one, the "tone" being so difficult to secure. Much depends on the composition of the metal, but very much more on the size and shape of the bell. Bell-metal is a compound of copper and tin, in the proportions of four parts of copper to one part of tin. Only a few bells are constructed of steel. Steel bells are said to have a sweet tone, but they do not possess the prolonged vibration of bells cast of bell-metal. Dates, the names of the founders, and mottoes are often inscribed on bells. The bell at the Kremlin, in Moscow, weighs nearly 200 tons; the great bell at Pekin, over 53 tons; "Great Peter" of York, 10 tons 15 cwt. and "Great Tom" of Lincoln, and the great bell of St. Paul's, each over 5 tons.—*The Review of Reviews* May 1914, p. 894.

According to the late Prof. J. N. Fraser, bells in India are altogether a Mongolian importation.—*Indian Education*, Vol. XVI, No. 5, December 1917, p. 205. Also see the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XI, No. 2, 1917, p. 201.

Bocarro¹ is evidently the name of the founder of the bell, which he made in 1674 at the express desire and order of a pious and modest Christian who preferred anonymity to publicity. Thus the bell, which was the gift of an anonymous individual, was cast by Hiram Tavarres Bocarro in A.D. 1674 and presented to the Church of St. Joseph at Bassein in or about the year 1674 by a devout and pious Portuguese whose name is not inscribed on the bell.

Now what is that event in the history of the Portuguese in

The rise of the Western India with which we can associate Portuguese in the transference of this bell from Bassein India, 1507 A.D. to Bombay? That event is of historic interest and significance from the point of view of both the nations—the Portuguese and the Marathas who contested for supremacy in India.

The rise of the Portuguese power in India dates from the beginning of the sixteenth century when in A.D. 1507, the sound of the Portuguese cannon was first heard on the shores of Maharashtra.² Goa was the first possession that the Portuguese acquired in the land of the Marathas (A.D. 1510).³ Among the many places which the Portuguese then gradually acquired, Bassein, which for the first time fell into their hands in A.D. 1534,⁴ having been ceded to them by Bahadur Shah, King of Gujarat,⁵ was an important one. This remained in the undisturbed possession of the Portuguese till 1670⁶ when Shivaji, the Maratha (1627—1680) attacked them by sea.⁷ But he was repulsed.

Till the beginning of the 18th century, Bassein which, accord-

The siege of Bassein, 1739 A.D. largest city built by his countrymen in India, stood uninjured by an enemy, having been for two centuries in their peaceful possession. But the fate of nations, as of individuals, ever changes. At least that has been

¹ In reply to my inquiries about this Bocarro, Mr. Joseph Bocarro, in his letter dated the 5th June 1916, stated as follows:—

"I am afraid that I am not in a position to give you any further information either about the bell or my great-grandfather, except that his name was Antonio Bocarro. . . . All I can find in an Encyclopedic Dictionary of Portugal is an entry 'Bocarro Antonio, a Portuguese writer in the seventeenth century.' That must be a different person as my great-grandfather was in the Army. Probably the person referred to in the Dictionary was one of my ancestors!"

² Grant Duff, *History of the Marathas*, 3rd Ed., Lon. 1873, p. 84.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VII, Ox. 1908, p. 120. (DD 2 175).

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII. (Thana), Pt. II p. 475. (DD 2 158).

⁷ Nairne's *Konkan*, 65. This is the first mention of Shivaji's fleet—Orme's *Historical Fragments*, London : 1805, p. 307. (MH 2 9 or GG. 4. 28).

the lesson taught by history. The Marathas rapidly grow powerful. The tide of their success flows on unchecked till at last we see them invading Bassein with vigour and determination.

"Inspired by success, the Maratha army, at the commencement of the year 1739, invested the place, and having on the ninth of February taken possession of Versova, which had been abandoned by the Portuguese, pressed the siege with the greatest eagerness. John Xavier de Pinto, the commandant, endeavoured to appease the enemy by humble messages, and an offer of tribute, but nothing short of absolute submission would be accepted. Soon after operations had been commenced in earnest, de Pinto was killed, and was succeeded in his command by De Souza Pereira, who repeatedly wrote to the Government of Bombay, stating the condition of the besieged, and joining his entreaties with those of the General of the North that timely succour might be sent to them. The besieged next supplicated for what was far more needed. In March their ammunition was nearly exhausted, their money spent and the greater part of their church plate melted down to purchase supplies. Summoning the senate of the city, the heads of religious orders and principal inhabitants, the General of the North called upon them to devise means for averting the danger now imminent; but they could only recommend that fresh appeals should be made to Bombay for military stores and a loan of a hundred thousand rupees."¹

To what extent and under what considerations, the repeated Help of the entreaties of the besieged for succour were Bombay Govern- listened and responded to by the Bombay ment to the Por- Government, can be demonstrated by the tuguese. extract which we crave leave to quote from the *Bombay Quarterly Review* :—

"The President and Council, on receiving this request, were in some perplexity, for a little sympathy had at last been awakened in their breasts, and they felt, as men usually do, when the house next their own is in flames; but on the other hand, they knew the repugnance which the Company had to advancing loans, except on approved security, and remembered how they had visited Governor Horne² with their severe displeasure when he had lent money to the Siddee. At first, therefore, they resolved to send 'a handsome excuse,' as they called a sorry evasion, and when delay would be ruin,

¹ *Bombay Quarterly Review*, Vol IV, 1856, pp. 81-82. George W. Forrest, Selections from the Letters, Despatches and other State Papers preserved in the *Bombay Secretariat, Maratha Series*, Vol. I, Bom. 1888, pp. 28-66 (CXd 7 a).

² Mr. John Horne, Governor of Bombay 1734—1739.

to tell the besieged that a definitive answer must be deferred until the arrival of a ship from Great Britain, of which they were in daily expectation. But, contrary to usual precedent, more generous impulses, a sense of shame, or reasonable apprehension, succeeded. What, they reflected, would the world say, if they should refuse to assist, in the hour of its greatest peril, a European nation which was in close alliance with their own? And was it not notorious that the interests of Bassein and Bombay were interwoven, for the fall of the former would assuredly be followed by encroachments upon the latter? Might not the Portuguese be enabled by a little assistance to hold out until the annual rains should wash the besiegers out of their trenches,—until the onward march of the Persian invader, Nadir Shah, might call them to meet a more formidable enemy,—or, lastly, until the Raja of Satara might be appeased by an embassy from the Viceroy of Goa? Influenced by such considerations, they at length agreed to lend fifteen thousand rupees on two securities. One security was the remaining church plate, which the commandant had, after some vain efforts, induced the clergy to resign, and which was to be redeemed at the end of one year. The other was remarkable: it was some brass guns which the Portuguese officer, with a chivalry amounting to Quixotism, determined to remove from his defences. It should be known to the world,' wrote this gallant blockhead, 'how, for the preservation of their king's city, it was stripped of its artillery, the principal instruments of its defence, whilst they put their trust more in their personal valour, in their constant fidelity and zeal, than in the extraordinary force or hardness of metal.'¹

But as fate would have it, the siege was pressed on with greater vigour and there was no other alternative left for the gallant defender of Bassein than to hold out a white flag and to offer to capitulate as he found that there was no prospect of help, his ammunition was exhausted and his surviving soldiers were worn out by continued fighting and starvation. The articles of capitulation² were signed on 16th May 1739.

Thus fell a great city which the Lusitanian peoples had built up during the two centuries of their domination. "No contest," says an independent and honest critic.³ "had been so glorious for the Indo-

¹ *Bombay Quarterly Review*, July 1856 (Art. IV, The First Wars and Treaties of the Western Presidency), Vol. IV, pp. 82-83. *Vide also Forrest, Selections, Maratha Series*, Vol. I, 1855, pp. 23-66 (CXd 7 a).

² For the articles of capitulation see *Bom. Quar. Rev.* IV, 1856, pp. 84-5. Also *Forrest*, Vol. I, pp. 40-41. (CXd 7 a).

³ *Bom. Quar. Review*, Vol. IV, 1856, p. 85.

Portuguese—in none had they earned such unsullied fame" since the days of Pasheco and Albuquerque. After this just tribute to the personal valour and the gallant deeds of the Portuguese, the writer, not unfairly, finds fault with the policy which the Portuguese had chalked out and which ultimately undermined their power. Says he "yet their one motive was then a thirst of conquest, and desire of gaining by robbery what was beyond the reach of honest industry; their triumphs were usually stained with cruelty, and their sole plan for enlightening a conquered people was the simple process of a violent and unscrupulous bigotry."¹

In regard to the assistance the Local Government could render to the besieged when they were sorely and urgently needed it, the same authority has the following observations to make:—

"But no one who ever told the tale of Bassein's last days breathed an insinuation against the honour and courage of its Indo-Portuguese defenders; and this portion of Anglo-Indian annals would have had a brighter hue for us, if the English had not been restrained by their calculations and mercantile propensities from rendering the unhappy city more prompt and valuable assistance—if for the sake of England's ancient ally the Government of Bombay had expended some of their increasing treasure, and responded to the moving appeals of the chivalrous Caitano de Souza."²

But, we are told that on the fall of Bassein in 1739, the Bombay Government despatched a number of boats to bring away the garrison—the drooping remnant of the defenders of Bassein, some seven or eight hundred strong, whom they permitted to sojourn in our island during the monsoon and for whose maintenance they expended Rs. 4,000 every month. When the time to quit the place approached, the Portuguese soldiers who had already behaved in a turbulent manner, would not go unless and until their arrears of pay were paid off. The Government thought it wise to meet with their demands till "their claims on the Viceroyalty of Goa amounted to fifty-three thousand rupees for which they only retained as securities six brass guns, valued at little more than twenty thousand."³

In my paper on the Portuguese Bell in the Narushankar's temple at Nasik, I have alluded precisely to the same incidents and attempted to show that it was at the storming of Bassein

in 1739 by the Marathas that the Portuguese bell of the Borivli Church was carried away by Narushankar Rajebahdur, an enterprising Maratha warrior, to be deposited in a temple built by him at Nasik in 1747 at a cost of no less than eighteen lacs of rupees and known after his name.¹

In respect of the bell in the Dabul Church which forms the topic of this Paper, we have to locate its transference from its original haunt to Bombay. This much we can say without fear of contradiction, that the bell must have hung in the Bassein Church from 1674 to 1739, covering a period of 65 years, when the Portuguese population must have taken some work out of this huge bell. If there was any event in the history of the Portuguese in Western India with which the decline of their sway and power could be associated, it was, as we have seen above, the passing away of Bassein in 1739 from their hands into those of the Marathas. It was then at this critical juncture in their history that the Bell of the Church of St. Joseph, Bassein, seemed to have changed hands. It was not the Marathas, who, as in the case of the Borivli Church, robbed them of their bell. But it was the Portuguese themselves who are said to have parted, *inter alia*, with this sacred object.

From the extracts that we have cited above from the Church plate and *Bombay Quarterly Review*, it is manifest brass guns as securities according to *Bombay Quarterly Review* that the Church plate and some brass guns were mortgaged with the Bombay Government for a loan of Rs. 15,000; but the writer of the *Review* seems to make no reference to the bell as having been given as a security to the English. It is not improbable that the bell too might have been pledged at this very hour of their trial. James Douglas, as far as I am able to ascertain, is the only author who throws out that hint. This well-informed antiquary, in one of his chatty articles, says:—

“ You may recollect that when in 1739 the Portuguese were hard-pressed by the Marathas, they wanted a loan from us, and that we asked them what security they had to offer us. They replied Church plate and brass guns ; and we gave them Rs. 15,000 on this strange collateral security.

¹ *Nasik Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI, 1883, p. 519. (DD a 158). For a biographical sketch of Narushankar Rajebahdur, see my Paper on the Borivli Church Bell in the Nasik Temple in *J. B. R. A. S.* Vol. XXIII, No. L x VII, 1918, pp. 388-89 and also *Genealogy of the Maratha Chiefs* in G. W. Forrest's *Selections from Government Records, Maratha series* Vol. I, 1885, pp. 694-5 (O x d 7 a).

I think we ought either to have refused the loan, or refrained from touching the vessels of the sanctuary. The duty of the Portuguese was equally plain. They ought to have died in the last ditch rather than alienate one of the sacred utensils. The brass guns, for anything we know, indeed we think it is highly probable, are among those now in the compound of the Arsenal. But the Church plate ! The idea that it was sold, etc., etc., seems almost sacrilegious. We fear Bassein was not strong enough to take up any loans after this. We have no complete inventory of the articles sent in to the Bombay Government in 1739, but we consider it very probable this bell was among them.”¹

And I entirely agree with Douglas on this subject. In view of the Church plate and the brass guns which, as we have seen from the *Quarterly* extracts, were mortgaged by the Portuguese with the Bombay Government, it is quite probable the bell, too, should have been similarly pledged.

II.—The History of the Bell at Bombay, From A.D. 1739 to 1917.

I now come to the second part of my Paper which I propose to sub-divide, for convenience sake, under the following heads.—

- A. The Bell at the St. Thomas’ Cathedral, A.D. 1739 to 1869.
- B. The Bell at the Arsenal, A.D. 1869 to 1883.
- C. The Bell at the Portuguese Dabul Church, A.D. 1883.

The materials of this second part of my Paper have been chiefly drawn from the correspondence I had with the Bombay Government to which a reference has been made above.

A. THE BELL AT THE ST. THOMAS’ CATHEDRAL, 1739-1869.

We will now examine the history of this bell from 1739 when it became the property of the Bombay Government till 1869 when it was deposited in the Bombay Arsenal, behind the Town Hall.

About 1739, the bell seems to have travelled from Bassein to Bombay, as a spoil of war.

The Bombay Government seemed to have thought a Church to be the most suitable place for the location of the bell. The only Church our island could then boast of, was the

¹ “James Douglas” *Bombay and Western India*, 1893, I, p. 222-3. (QxJ 7).

St. Thomas' Church. So the Government presented the bell to it. This appears from the letter No. 357, dated the 21st August 1914, of the Ecclesiastical Department.

I may be here permitted to speak a few words in respect of our Bombay Church on the authority of Strachey's recent publication, "Keigwin's Rebellion," which throws some new light on the question of the builder of the Church and the question of the embezzlement of the Church moneys.

The first scheme to build a garrison Church on the island of Bombay originated in A.D. 1675 during the régime of Governor Gerald Aungier (1669-1677) to whom our island-city owes so much of her development. It was Aungier¹ who began the Church and not Sir George Oxinden (1668-1669) as has been erroneously supposed by Hamilton² (? 1658-1732), Anderson³ (1816-1857) and subsequent writers. Oxinden had spent all his time at Surat where he died on the 14th July 1669. This is proved by O. C. 4905, of the old East India Company in the India Office—a document in which Sir John Child (1681-1690), at whose door Hamilton has laid the charge of misappropriating the Church moneys, definitely states that it was his successor Aungier at whose directions the foundations were laid.

Towards the completion of his favourite scheme, President Gerald Aungier had, besides his own donation, left in his will a legacy of Rs. 5,000. The question of misappropriating Church moneys. Lord Longford, the principal legatee and the brother of the late President, could not be induced to part with the amount. On February 28, 1678-9, the Court of Directors had at last to write "As to the 5,000 Rupees left by President Aungier in his will towards building the said Church, you must not expect to receive anything thereof from hence."⁴

As to how the non-appearance of this sum could have originated the accusation of embezzlement against poor Child can best be read in the words of defence by Messrs. Ray & Oliver Strachey, whose book 'Keigwin's Rebellion (1683-4)' is the latest work that sheds, as we have observed above, some new and important light on the history of Bombay's oldest English Church. "It seems reasonable to suppose," write the Stracheys,

¹ Strachey, *Keigwin's Rebellion (1683-4)*, Oxford Historical and Literary Studies. Vol. VI, 1916, p. 168 (NN a 88).

² Alex. Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, 1727, Vol. I, p. 188 (HH d 34).

³ Philip Anderson, *English in Western India*, 2nd ed. 1856, pp. 188-9 (HHe 22).

⁴ Strachey, Vol. VI, p. 169. (NN a 88)

"that the non-appearance of this sum, though doubtless reckoned in the estimates for the Church, was at the bottom of the rumours of embezzlement which are hinted at by Chaplain Cobbe¹ and formulated by Alexander Hamilton; and if Piety grew sick after Aungier's death, it was Lord Longford and not John Child who was the culprit."²

Some incidents then transpired which brought the construction of the building to a final standstill. Rev. Richard Cobbe and "the roofless edifice, fifteen feet high, remained a standing reproach for thirty years."³ But thanks to the exertions of Revd. Cobbe, whose appointment as Chaplain to Bombay in 1714 was the direct outcome of the strenuous appeals in 1694-95 of Dr. Humphrey Prideaux, Dean of Norwich (1648-1724), to compel the East India Company "to do something towards that good work," the St. Thomas' Church was opened with great éclat on the 25th December 1718, having been built at a cost⁴ of Rs. 4,43,992, when Governor Boone (1716-1720) presented a bell which till 1856 tolled "its summons to the Christians of the neighbourhood."⁵

¹ It was through this Reverend Gentleman that Governor Bowcher sent the *Vendidad* to the Bodleian Library. This was the first Avesta book to go to England in 1723. Prof. James Darmesteter thus refers to this book:—"Eighteen years later (1718 A. D.) a countryman of Hyde, George Boucher, received from the Parsis in Surat a copy of the *Vendidad Sadah*, which was brought to England in 1723 by Richard Cobbe. But the old manuscript was a sealed book and the most that could then be made of it was to hang it by an iron chain to the wall of the Bodleian Library, as a curiosity to be shown to foreign visitors."—S. B. E. series, Vol. IV, Part I (*The Vendidad*), Oxford, 1880, Introd: p. XIV. (Pxd 3)

² Strachey, Vol. VI, p. 169.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 170.

³ Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, *Origin of Bombay*, 1900, p. 356 (R.XA d 3).

⁵ *Bombay Quarterly Review*, Vol. III, 1856 p. 39 Boone's bell bears the following inscription:—

"*Laud Deo. In usum Eccles. Anglic. Bomb., Anno Dom: 1719. Sine charitate facti sumus velut as sonans.*" (*Bom. Quar. Rev.* III, 1856, p. 38 n). The translation is "Praise (be) to God. For the use of the Anglican Church in Bombay. In the year of the Lord 1719. Without charity we are like sounding brass." The learned Father Robert Zimmermann, S. J., to whom I am greatly indebted for the translation, while communicating to me the same in his letter dated the 5th February 1918, remarks "The last sentence of the inscription (provided it has *charitate*, as your letter gives it) contains a mistake. It should be *charitate*. The same sentence is a free quotation from I. Cor. 13, 1 (the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, Chapter 13, verses):—*Sicut linguis hominum loquar et angelorum, caritatem autem non habeam, factus sum velut as sonans aut cymbalum tinniens.* In English:—"If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal." In the inscription of the bell as given in the *Bom. Quar. Rev.* the word is *chartrate*. But possibly the word may be *charitate* in the inscription on the bell itself and the original *charitate* may have been transformed into the corrupt *chartrate* either through some mistake of the copyist or the writer of the article in the Review or through some typographical errors so very peculiar and common to the printing craft.

It is interesting to note that on one occasion at the funeral of Church-belltolled a Parsi philanthropist, Seth Ardesir Dady in honour of a (b. 1756, d. 29-6-1810), whom Sir James Parsee. Mackintosh (1765-1832) considered "the best of all our natives," the bell of this Cathedral was tolled by the order and in the presence of our "Brahamanized" Governor, Jonathan Duncan (1795-1811), as the funeral procession passed by through the Church Gate Street, as a testimony of the public respect to the memory of the deceased gentleman.¹ I am inclined to believe that it was Governor Boone's bell, and not the Bassein bell, that was tolled on this occasion.

It was to this most historic and the oldest Anglican Church of Bombay that the local Government thought fit to present the huge Portuguese bell. Though it is not stated in the communications of the Ecclesiastical Department of the Bombay Government, to which reference has been made above, as to when the presentation of the bell was made, it would be safe to conjecture that it might have been in or about the year 1739—the probable time of its entry into our city..

The records of the Cathedral give us no information on the subject. The only light that can be gleaned Records in the from the correspondence I had in August Bombay Cathedral. 1914 with Mr. W. J. Samways, the Clerk of the Cathedral, is that the earliest records of correspondence in the Cathedral are from 1871. The files of correspondence prior to that year used to be stored in a room in the Cathedral Tower. In 1901 it was discovered that the white ants had destroyed these files and the remains of them were burnt.

The following extract from James Douglas illustrates the The Bell in the history of this bell during its stay at the Cathedral. Bombay Cathedral :—

"In lieu of non-payment we seem to have taken some work out of this bell, for there are people who recollect when it hung outside the wall of the Cathedral on the right of the main door as you enter, a little way round the corner of the building. Whether it was rickety, or dangerous from its weight and proximity to the heads of the passers-by, we do not know, but it was taken down from its elevation some twenty years ago (1860) and lay in the Cathedral compound until 1869, when it was

¹ Times of India, March 9, 1866; B. B. Patel, *Parsi Prakash*, II, 181 n. (Ex a 36); and The Speeches and Addresses of Sir Bartle Frere, compiled by B. N. Pitale, Bom: 1870, p. 320.

handed over to the Bombay Government by the Cathedral trustees, for safe custody, and was placed in the Arsenal, where it remained until its translation in April 1883." ¹

It is interesting to know that the fountain in front of this Cathedral was erected by a Parsi gentleman, commenting upon whose catholic charities, Fountain, 1866. the London "*Punch*" said: "Is Mr. Ready-money a Parsi? at any rate he is not *Parsi-monious*." ² The Parsi here referred to was Sir Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney, Kt. (1812-1878) who donated a sum of Rs. 13,777 ³ for the erection of the fountain, and not Rs. 7,000 as James Maclean (1835-1906) says. ⁴

¹ James Douglas, *Bombay and W. India*, II., 1893, p. 229.

² W. S. Caine, *Picturesque India*, Lon., 1890, p. 16. (Xb 47).

³ B. B. Patel, *Parsi Prakash*, II., 196 n (EX a 36).

⁴ James M. Maclean, *A Guide to Bombay*, 24 ed., 1890, p. 231 (DD b 110) What sentiments of humanity coupled with a high sense of duty actuated the vallant Zoroastrian Knight, Sir Cowasji Jehangir (1812-1878)

The Church and to come forward with his offer to erect the fountain are nicely expressed in his letter to Rev. W. K. T. Fletcher, one of the then Trustees of the Cathedral. The letter is worth

quoting *in extenso* as typical of Parsi spirit of those days in as much as for the fact that no records prior to 1871 exist in the archives of the Cathedral. Sir Cowasji wrote under date the 6th May 1863:—

"I myself, Sir, and my family for several generations have lived from childhood to old age in the house which I now occupy in Church-Gate Street, close to the Cathedral. All my dearest associations from my schoolboy-days till now are connected with this neighbourhood, and I feel that I should be wanting in gratitude to Heaven, which has blessed me here with long life and prosperity, if I did not use every opportunity to do good to my fellow-citizens, by improving that part of my native town which I have always loved as my birth-place and my home.

"I request, therefore, that I may be allowed the privilege of contributing to carry out the good work you have in hand by the erection, at my own cost, of a fountain at the western entrance of the Cathedral. I have set apart for this purpose, should my request be complied with, the sum of rupees (7,000) seven thousand,* and I attach to my offer only this condition, that the fountain shall be a public drinking fountain, for the use of all the inhabitants of Bombay." B. B. Patel, *Parsi Prakash*, Vol. II., p. 196 n (EX a 36).

While accepting with thanks the kind offer of Sir Cowasji on behalf of his co-trustees, the Reverend gentleman wrote in his letter dated the 15th May 1863: "The fountain will be erected within the iron rails which are to surround the church, and be at all times fully seen, and the water will flow into a basin at the outside, for the free use of all passers without distinction." (*Parsi Prakash*, Vol. II., p. 196 n.).

The fountain bears the following inscription from the Bible (14th verse, Ch. IV. St. John Gospel):—

"Whoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst."

But this is not the only instance of a pious and devout Zoroastrian whose charity reaches Christianity. Instances may be multiplied. But we have an earlier, perhaps the earliest, record of a similar instance in one of the original Portuguese documents collected by Shams-ul-ulma Dr. Jivani Jamshedji Modi, C.I.E., the able Secretary of the Parsi Panchayet and now in the archives of that Institution. The document to which I

* Subsequently increased to Rs. 13,777.

B—THE SOJOURN OF THE BELL AT THE BOMBAY ARSENAL,
1869-1883.

How this bell came to be translated from the Bombay Cathedral to the Arsenal behind the Town Hall, Church Bell—An eye-sore. James Douglas does not state. But the Government communications, referred to above, fill up the desideratum.

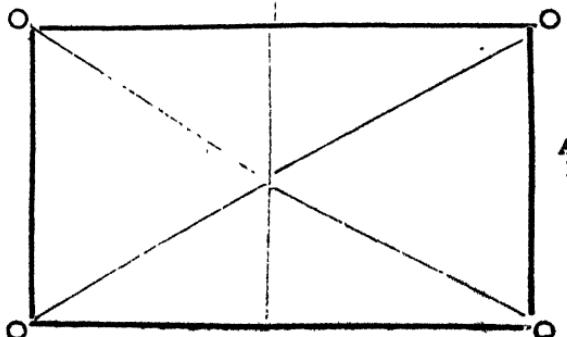
refer is dated Damaun, the 12th March 1668. It is a Certificate from Fr. Domingos da Madre de Deus, the Guardian of the Convent and Church of St Francis of Damaun (Damaun) and reads as follows:—

"I Domingos of the Mother of God, Superior of the Convent of St. Francisco of this city of Damaun, certify it to be true, because of my being a native of this city, that I know Vicaji Vara Parsi to be patel and a resident of the village Jaim and is a person who has been very charitable in matters relating to the service of His Majesty as well as in sheltering and seeing to the comfort of people, I mean Christian travellers and religious persons, expending largely from his own purse, with which all are much pleased and also at what he has had to spend out of his own funds in matters which relate to the service of His Majesty and is therefore a person who is respected and loved by the Christians and when the religious of this Order pass through the said village the said Vicaji Vara entertains them with great regard and lavish hospitality and gives a contribution as an alms in each year to this Convent, though he does not possess any property or boats, living only by agriculture for which he pays a large amount as dues of the said village, and being of this (charitable) disposition he is encumbered in his possessions, in spite of which, however, he continues the same zeal and charity, and as all the above is well known I assert that this is so upon the word of a priest and I have issued this certificate at his request, this twelfth of March in the year (1) 668.

Father Domingos of the Mother of God."

Andre of Motta, notary public of documents and revenue clerk of His Majesty. I certify and affirm that the above signature near the certificate is of the Reverend Father Domingos of the Mother of God, Superior of St. Francisco, I mean the Convent of St. Francisco, of this city, in virtue of which wherever it may be shown it should be given full credence and credit for which I have issued this.—Made by me and signed by my official signature and mark which are as follows.—Dated the twenty-sixth of March of the year (one thousand) six hundred and sixty-eight

Paid twenty reis.



The Trustees (Rev. C. J. Wilson and Rev. P. Horton Le France) of St. Thomas' Cathedral wrote on the 26th July 1869 to the Ven'ble the Archdeacon of Bombay at Satara to apply to Government for permission to dispose of the following articles belonging to the Cathedral:—

“ 1.—The Bell on the South side of the Cathedral Tower. This is too large to be made use of in the present Tower, and if a new Tower should at any time be erected in its place, it would still be unnecessary because a peal of bells would then be obtained from England. It not only occupies considerable space where it stands, but it causes the Cathedral compound on that side to look very untidy.

2.—Iron railings for the tombs no longer wanted.

3.—Shades glass, 115 in number, displaced in consequence of the Cathedral being lighted with gas.

4.—Candlesticks from the Reading Desk, Lectern and one side of the Pulpit.

5.—Large wooden Gate—not now required.

If Government would be pleased to allow of the sale of the above articles, there would then be funds for . . . beautifying the compound with ornamental shrubs; for replacing some monuments, which were taken down and never replaced; and for laying the encaustic tiles in the Chancel of the Church.”

The Archdeacon, with his communication dated Satara, the 19th August 1869, forwarded to the Bombay Government the letter of the Cathedral Trustees, for consideration of His Excellency¹ the Governor-in-Council. The Archdeacon wrote as follows:—

“ The Lord Bishop approves of the arrangement proposed by the Trustees but considers that the bell, it is believed the gift of the Bombay Government to the Church, should be restored to Government.

It seems to be doubtful whether the iron railings round certain tombs can be disposed of without the consent of the parties, or their representatives, by whom the railings were erected: but if such consent be unnecessary, I hope that Government may not object to sanction the arrangement not only in this second particular but in those of 3, 4, and 5 respectively as the Trustees request.”

¹ Governor Sir William Robert Seymour Fitzgerald, 1867-1872.

The Bombay Government approved of the recommendations of the Lord Bishop, for, in their Resolution, Government Ecclesiastical Department, No. 217, dated Order. the 8th September 1869, they state: "The Bell should be made over to the Ordnance Commissary, who should keep it until needed elsewhere. The other articles may be sold as suggested, the railings excepted. His Excellency-in-Council could not, with propriety, sanction the sale of rails which have been, with due authority, placed round graves by private persons."

It appears from the Report No. 5402 dated Poona, the 19th November 1869 of Col. W. Aitken, Inspector To the Arsenal. General of Ordnance and Magazines, that as there was no press of work and as a sufficient number of nowgunnies were available, the Commissary of Ordnance in charge of Grand Arsenal had the big bell removed to the Arsenal from the south side of the Cathedral Tower.

I now arrive at the concluding portion of my Paper wherein I deal with the transference of the bell to the Dabul Church.

C.—ITS TRANSFERENCE TO THE DABUL CHURCH, 1883—1917.

But the bell was not destined to rest at peace at its new destination for more than 14 years, (from Dr. Gerson da Cunha's initiative 1869 to 1883). Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, (1842—1900), that ardent historian of Western India, seems to have noticed the huge Portuguese bell deposited in the Ordnance branch. To him an arsenal seemed perhaps the less suitable and less becoming repository for such a sacred object. It was he who had the credit for its transference from the Arsenal to the Portuguese Church at Dabul.

In reply to my inquiries in respect of this bell, the Rev. Estanislau P. V. de Souza, the Vicar of Vara of Aldona, stated in his letter to me dated Aldona (Goa), the 4th August 1914: "I knew by the late Dr Gerson da Cunha that there was a bell in the Bombay Arsenal." This statement is also corroborated by the first Report dated the 31st December 1899 of the Managing Committee of the Church of Dabul.¹

¹ Relatorio E Contas do Alargamento da Egreja Nacional de Dabul, Bombaim Topographio do Anglo-Lusitano p. 10.

Thus, having heard about a large bell lying in the Arsenal Portuguese memorial to Govt. to restore them their bell. "with considerable surprise," the Rev. E. P. V. de Souza, who was then the Vicar-General of the North, proceeded right earnestly to apply to the then Governor of Bombay, H. E. the Right Hon'ble Sir James Fergusson (1880—1885), for the restoration of the bell. In his letter dated Mazagaon, the 20th February 1883 to the Governor, the Reverend gentleman wrote:—"I may add that the handing over of the bell to the Portuguese National Church in Bombay would be a very graceful act on the part of Your Excellency, as it would not only restore to my jurisdiction an object which once belonged to us, but also keep in our grateful remembrance Your Excellency's generosity and good will towards thousands of the parishioners of the Church of St. Francis Xavier of Dabul."

And the response of the Bombay Government was more graceful and sympathetic than the petition. Government's compliance. Colonel M. W. Willoughby, the Secretary to Government, Ecclesiastical Department, wrote on the 13th March 1883 to the Vicar-General of the North: "His Excellency the Governor-in-Council has been pleased to order that the bell therein alluded to and which is in the Bombay Arsenal, be made over to you as a gift from Government to the Portuguese Church at Dabul."

Thus the huge bell was removed from the Arsenal to the Dabul Church on the 2nd April 1883 by some persons whom the Vicar-General of the North had despatched with his letter dated the 2nd April 1883 to the Commissary of Ordnance in charge of the Bombay Arsenal. It is a strange and a happy coincidence that this antique bell, which originally belonged to the Roman Catholics and hung in one of their matrizes at Bassein and which once became the property of the Bombay Government, has now gone to its former owners, the Portuguese Catholics.

I will now close my Paper with relating a short account of the Portuguese Church of Dabul, Bombay, which has happily been the recipient of this huge antique bell, the life-story of which we have attempted to trace.

The Bell of this Paper now hangs in the belfry of the National Church of Dabul—The National Church which it was resolved, at a public meeting of the sons of Goa held on the 20th June 1869, to call the "Church of St. Francis Xavier under the special protection of Our Lady of Good Voyage."

The enthusiasm of the sons of Goa at the prospect of having a Church knew no bounds and the sacred building, thanks to the funds having assumed in a few months large proportions, came into existence and was publicly opened for divine worship on the 12th of May 1872. It is interesting to read from the first Report dated the 31st December 1899 of the Managing Committee of the Church of Dabul the story of the Church "The proposal having thus matured," says the Portuguese Report which has been kindly translated for me by my friend Mr. Joseph Bocarro "it was decided to erect the Church on the site occupied by the former Cemetery of Sonapur, which belonged to the Cavel Church. Negotiations were accordingly opened with the Managing Committee of that Church, who, however, did not wish to sell the said site for less than Rs. 10,000. Being thus disappointed in that direction and failing to secure another suitable site, a house in Dabul belonging to Rozario Michael Castelino and Jose Sant' Anna de Andrade was, after protracted negotiations, purchased for Rs. 5,600, and on this site was laid the foundation of the new Church, since the spiritual requirements of our countrymen and other weighty circumstances did not admit of the construction of the Church being delayed. All our people, however, were not satisfied with the site selected, and the Committee, probably with the view of selecting a better site, applied to the ecclesiastical authorities for permission to open in the meanwhile a temporary Chapel. The late Archbishop Amorim Pessoa, who was then in Portugal, however directed that the Vicar of the Cavel Church should grant the desired permission for a period of two years, on the distinct understanding (1) that if the new Church were not constructed within that period the permission would be cancelled, and (2) that the house which it was proposed to utilize for the purposes of a temporary Chapel would be used only for that purpose and for the residence of the priest who would perform the divine services therein. This order compelled the Committee to begin at once the construction of the Church. On the 4th of December 1870, the foundation-stone of the new Church was laid. On the 12th of May 1872 the Church was blessed, amidst a very large gathering of the Clergy and the Laity, by the Very Revd. Diogo Manoel Gomes, Superior of the Mission of the North, and the first Mass was said in the Church by the Revd. Philip Pinto, Vicar of Mazagon. The Revd. Antonio Archanjo Lobo was transferred as Vicar from the Church of Our Lady of Health at Cavel to the new Church of St. Francis Xavier at Dabul, and he took charge on the same day. On the opening of the new Church for divine worship and the establishment of a new parish, several jurisdictional conflicts arose

between the Vicars of the Churches of Mazagon, Cavel and Dabul. To settle these disputes it was directed by the superior ecclesiastical authorities that the Vicar of Cavel should abstain from performing any parochial duties in respect of those who hailed from Goa and were residents of that locality, his duties being confined to the parishioners whose native place was Bombay, and to such people of Goa who were old residents of Bombay and who desired to continue as parishioners of the Cavel Church, the spiritual wants of the sons of Goa being attended to by the Vicar of the Dabul Church.

It soon became evident, however, that the accommodation in the Dabul Church was insufficient for the growing population of Goans in Bombay, and measures were concerted for the enlargement of the said Church. A fresh subscription list was opened for the collection of the requisite funds. The Committee met with considerable difficulties in carrying out the project owing to their inability to obtain possession of the public passage which intervened between the original Church and the site of the projected enlargement of the sacred edifice. On the 21st of June 1891 the foundation of the new building was blessed by the first Bishop of Damaun with an imposing ceremony and amidst the rejoicing of the parish. On the completion of the structure it was blessed on the 7th of June 1896. The ceremony was attended by the late Bishops of Damaun and Cochin and the Very Revd. the Administrator of the Archdiocese of Bombay, almost all the clergy of both the jurisdictions and an immense gathering of the faithful. Col. Kuchembuck Villar was expressly deputed by the Government of Goa to represent it on the occasion. On the conclusion of the ceremony of blessing, the late Bishop of Cochin celebrated a Pontifical Mass. Thereafter the Very Revd. Vicar of the Church entertained at his own cost the Prelates and Clergy."¹

¹ Relatorio E Contas do Alargamento da Egreja Nacional de Dabul, Bombaim Topographio do Anglo-Lusitano.

ART. VII—*Survival of Portuguese Institutions in British Western India.*

BY

J. A. SALDANHA B.A., LL.B.

(Read 11th January 1918).

Taking the term “institutions” in its larger sense, as Sir Henry Maine uses it in his work on “Ancient Institutions”, I would divide the subject under these main headings :—

- I. Portuguese ecclesiastical institutions, and
- II. Portuguese revenue institutions in Bombay and its suburbs, both of which survive among us in various shapes.

I—PORTUGUESE ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTIONS.

The Catholic church, the largest of the Christian institutions in India, owes its existence to a great extent to the empire of the Portuguese which once held sway in the Eastern seas.

The Ottoman Turks had in A.D. 1453 seized Constantinople and in a few years overran south-western Europe, Syria and Egypt and created powerful fleets which, on the one side, obtained full command over the Indian seas, and on the other threatened to subjugate the whole Mediterranean basin. But the wave of her conquests in the West was turned back by the victories of the combined fleets of Spain, Venice and other Italian states ; while in the East a power, having its birth in the small kingdom in the extreme west of Europe, fresh from her victories in her crusades against the Moors that had established themselves in the Iberian peninsula, turned their enterprise against the Mussalman dominion in the Eastern seas and turned the flank of Islam in its grapple with Christendom. One of the smallest and poorest of the kingdoms of Europe, Portugal, put forth energy and embarked on a maritime enterprise which seems really extraordinary. “The swift audacity of the heron-nation”, the late Sir William Hunter in the first volume of his *History of British India* truly observes, “forms an epic compared with which our early labours are plain prose.” Actuated by the spirit of the crusaders, the Portuguese pursued the Moors, (as they called all Mahomedans) and all who traded with them, with barbaric and relentless ferocity, established like the Phoenicians of old factories at every important port, and concluded treaties with native princes for securing the monopoly of the trade of their country from which they had strictly to exclude the Moors.

The Portuguese cared little for territorial aggrandizement, but cared more to extend the empire of the Catholic religion. Wherever the Portuguese captain hoisted his national flag, the Portuguese priest planted the Cross of Christ. As the Portuguese factory or territory grew up, there arose even in greater splendour the Catholic church. The Christian missionaries pushed their conquests even beyond the limits of the Portuguese factory or territory into the interior of the country, and the Portuguese Government, wherever their influence reached, guaranteed the protection of the missions by a special clause in their treaties with the native princes. Here was an ambitious policy of a vast maritime and religious empire as opposed to a territorial as well as maritime and a non-religious, but wholly commercial policy so successfully pursued by the British. The Portuguese policy doomed their empire to a premature decay and fall. For, with a maritime empire dispersed over wide seas, a small nation like Portugal could not maintain on the sea a fleet sufficient to defend her empire against her European rivals, especially the Dutch, her inveterate enemies, while on the land she found it impossible to maintain requisite armies to protect her numerous factories separated from one another by wide lands and seas against the attacks of native armies. And in carrying out her religious propaganda and chastising with such ferocious cruelty the Moors and their friends, they raised a host of enemies among the native states.

Of the numerous Catholic Portuguese missionaries whose spirit still survives, the most distinguished was St. Francis Xavier (A.D., 1506—1552), the Apostle of the Indies, who abandoned a brilliant career at the University of Paris for that of a missionary in which he had to suffer every sort of privation and hardship. His aims ran heavenwards and his remarkable career was a grand action-song of his own hymn printed below. During a short apostolate of 10 years (1542—1552), he not only converted thousands, but organized Catholic missions and institutions on a sound basis. He firstly strove with considerable success to secure a high moral standard of family life among the Portuguese by encouraging and bringing about Christian marriage relations between them and Indians. For the converts (who were from the highest to the lowest castes) he founded or was instrumental in founding colleges, seminaries, missionary institutes, agricultural and industrial settlements on a magnificent scale with the aid of Government in Goa, Bassein, Salsette, Bombay, Chaul, Cochin and other places. These measures which were followed by his successors and other missionary bodies bore abundant fruits in

the rise of large self-supporting and self-sufficient Christian communities that imbibed deep the Catholic faith and European culture, while the inter-marriages between Europeans and Indians facilitated the progress of Christianization and Europeanization of the communities. There arose thus an array of Indian scholars, priests, prelates, missionaries and officials, whose history has yet little been written. I may mention only a few of those who distinguished themselves in Kanara and Bombay—Mathew de Castro and his nephew Thomas de Castro—two Brahmin Catholic bishops consecrated at Rome and appointed vicars apostolic—the first of the Great Mogul and the second of Kanara (about the middle of the 17th century), Venerable Joseph Vaz, the apostle of Kanara and Ceylon (a Brahmin Catholic missionary of the 17th century), and St. Gonsalo Garcia (born in Bassein and martyred in Japan)—(*Vide* his life by Fr. Fernandes). They breathed and worked in the spirit of their patron's hymn printed below :—

Hymn of St. Francis Xavier.

O God, I love Thee, not that I
 May gain a place in Heaven thereby,
 Nor because they who love not Thee
 Shall burn in Hell eternally.
 Thou, Thou, my Jesus, on the Tree
 Didst in Thine arms encompass me :
 The nails, the lance, Thou didst endure.
 And ignominy great and sore,
 And pains and torments manifold,
 Swoonings, and agonies untold,
 And death : and all through me, for me,
 A sinner vile as vile can be !
 How, then can I help loving Thee,
 Jesus beloved exceedingly ?
 Not that I may Thy glory see,
 Or 'scape eternal misery,
 Or any way rewarded be.
 But ev'n as Thou hast loved me,
 I love, and ever will love, Thee :
 Simply because Thou art my Lord.
 The only, one, eternal God.

(Music in the Parochial Hymn Book sold at Messrs. L. M. Furtado & Co., Bombay).

The downfall of the Portuguese set back the progress of the Catholics of Western India by over a century. But the establishment of "Pax-Brittannica" has witnessed the rise of many a distinguished feudal lord and merchant-prince, e.g., Alvaro

de Perez de Tavara, lord of the manor of Mazagon—party to Aungier's Convention in A.D., 1672, Antonio de Souza, donor of the school attached to the Gloria Church—the glorious pile of buildings near the Byculla station, Bombay, Sir Walter de Souza who has endowed many institutions. We see now the revival of collegiate institutions, e.g., St. Xavier's College and Antonio de Silva High School, St. Mary's High School, Goan Union High School and Baretto School in Bombay, boys' and girls' colleges and schools, equipped largely by local Catholic Jesuits and nuns on the Kanara coast, from which institutions have gone forth into the world thousands of educated Catholic boys and girls and hundreds of graduates. Catholic progress in Western India is manifested also by the large number of Catholic charitable and economic institutions, the most remarkable of which are the St. Joseph's Home, Deaf and Mutes Institute, the Trombay and Belgaum Leper Asylums, St. Vincent de Paul's Society, the Societies of Piety, Associao Goana and the Catholic Co-partnership Housing Scheme at Santa Cruz. (For bibliography *vide Edwardes' Rise of Bombay* pp. 69, 94, 95, 96, 97; *Gazetteer of Bombay*; Da Cunha's *Origin of Bombay and Chaul and Bassein, Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. 13; 4 Bom. H.C.R. pp. 36, 82; 5 Bom. H. C. R. 172, O. J., J. Silva's *Christianity in India*; Fr. D'Sa's *Catholic Church in India*, Vol 1; Saldanha's *Goan Castes and Communities, Notes on First Anglo-Indian, Salsette Development*; Coleridge's *Life of St. Francis Xavier*; *The Christian Puran* of Thomas Stephens edited by Jos. Saldanha.

The Bombay and Madras Government Civil lists and high professions bear distinguished Portuguese names, the Bombay Civil list alone over 125. It is hardly necessary to mention that one of the most distinguished scholars of this institution was one who rejoiced in his Portuguese name (Gerson da Cunha).

A very striking survival of Portuguese supremacy in the East and its religious policy is the Padraodo jurisdiction in British India. A very significant feature of this survival is the residence of His Grace the Archbishop of Damaun (a Portuguese town) in Bombay and the constant evidence of his religious functions in the Gloria Church at Mazgaon and the Portuguese National Church at Dabul. Still more significant is the fact that though the new republic has disestablished the church as Government establishment, yet it maintains, in British India, three Portuguese bishops and a large number of Indian priests among whom the majority have always been Goans or their descendants as in Kanara. British Indian Catholics in Western India, when unable themselves to find vocations for the priesthood, have had for long to draw upon Goans

and their descendants in Kanara and rest of British territory men required for most of the parish religious function and to some extent for primary education. On the fall of the Portuguese in Salsette and Bassein, the *Kanarin (Goan)* clergy did yeoman's work for the preservation of the Catholic faith (see *Bombay Gazetteer, Thana*). In British India, in the absence of local vocations, they are still doing useful work for the small allowances they get. From past history, it may be expected that even when the Padraodo as such ceases, the priests whether from Goa or Portugal or from among Goan or Portuguese converts' descendants will still be in great requisition in British India, so that we shall have a Portuguese ecclesiastical jurisdiction under the Propaganda, with English or American or other religious mission for education and propaganda.

Portuguese Land Tenures.

All the lands which the Portuguese became master of in Bombay, Salsette and Bassein were divided up into manors or fiefs, the land being granted to deserving persons at a nominal rental of 4 to 10 per cent., and the leases being renewable either yearly, triennially or in some cases for a period of one to three lives. For distinguished service, &c., to churches or religious orders the lands were granted in perpetuity. In return the King of Portugal claimed military service from the tenants which might be commuted into a tax at the discretion of the authorities and comptroller of the treasury (Edwardes, *Rise of Bombay*, p. 69).

In the London Company's letter, dated 18th March, 1691, to the Portuguese envoy the liability of all the landholders in the Bombay Island whether lay or ecclesiastic by themselves or their substitutes to render military service was fully insisted upon as also the right of Government to treat any landholder who refused military aid as having forfeited his land. The land of the Jesuits and others who refused to render military service or who intrigued with the enemies of the Company were accordingly confiscated. To some of the less grave offenders these lands were afterwards restored. Amongst those which were never restored were the lands of the Jesuits at Sion and Parel.

Among the big feudal estates of the Portuguese times that survived till recently was that of the "*village of Margaon*" bestowed originally by the King of Portugal on Lionel D'Souza in 1571 and formally gifted by a charter to a descendant of his in 1637 on a tenure of *emphyteusis*—which descended by way of primogeniture subject to liability to pay a quit rent (*pensao* or *pension*) and to feudal service. In 1731 the village was conveyed.

by a deed to Antonio de Silva and Antonio de Lima with all its appurtenances and services and administration perpetual general of the Gloria Church (now near Byculla station) with the condition of their paying the annual pensions of the said Church according to the will of Christona D'Souza, a former quit rent tenant of the village and administrator of the Church. The title is traced in this deed to Lionel the first quit rent tenant referred to above.

The reference to the term 'pension' reminds us of the famous Aungier's Convention of 1672, which attempted at a solution of doubtful titles of feudal landholders by a fixed payment to be made called pension which should be distinguished from the "tax" into which the military service of the feudal landholders was commuted in 1718.

The term "pension" is derived from the Portuguese "pencao" and Latin "pensio" which in the middle ages denoted a settled sum paid for land. It is used by Bracton in respect of King's tenants in ancient demesne who, he says "*a gleba amoveri non possent quondiu solvere possunt debitas pensiones*" (Perry's Oriental Cases—p. 487). It is a term of great antiquity and designated payments made on *emphyteusis* among the Romans. This pension or quit rent is still retained in our Bombay tenures.

The Fazendari tenure.— This tenure still exists in Bombay and has been the subject of several rulings of the Bombay High Court. The earliest of the reported cases is of *Doe Dem Dorabji v. The Bishop of Bombay*, reported in Perry's Oriental Cases, p. 498. The suit was filed in 1848 for ejectment from a portion of vacant ground which had been formerly occupied by a house bought by the Bishop of Bombay for religious purposes in 1843 and which the Bishop had pulled down for the purpose of rebuilding premises connected with the London Mission. The plaintiff had purchased the fazendari right from his lessor and was therefore the fazendar of the soil. Upon the Bishop proceeding to rebuild without having obtained the permission of the lessor as fazendar, he was sued for ejectment. The Court rejected the suit. Sir Erskine Perry, C.J., in his judgment derives the term fazendari from the Portuguese "fazendeiro" which in Vieyra's Dictionary is Englished "a cultivator, tiller or husbandman". As a matter of fact it was never used to designate a proprietor and the Portuguese law does not appear to contain any trace of a tenure similar to that called *fazendari* in Bombay. The fazendar occupies a midway position between the landlord-proprietor and the occupant like the mulgenidar in Kanara. The system appears to have grown up by usurpation which by long efflux of

time has grown up into a right, the extent of which is regulated by usage (see Erskine Perry C. J.'s judgment *ibid*, p. 505), Da Cunha's *Origin of Bombay*, p. 229 and Dandekar's *Land Tenures*, Vol. I., p. 567).

Another well-known Portuguese tenure still existing in Bombay is that of *foras*. The lands which were held under this tenure during Portuguese and East India Company's times were out-lying ones mostly reclaimed from the sea held at first, rent free and later on subject to a small rent. The term "foras" is probably derived from the Latin "foris" out of the door that is lying outside the *demesne* lands. During the British period they were salt-batty' lands reclaimed by means of the vellard between Sion and Mahim and the Hornby Vellard. The latter abutted on a road which on that account probably has been called the Foras road. For a fuller account of these tenures your attention is required to Chapter VIII of Vol. II of the *Gazetteer* of the Bombay City and Island.

From Bombay we may pass to Salsette and Bassein. In these islands lands were allotted by the Portuguese Government to their distinguished servants on feudal tenure. We have got an antique regulation of the Government of Bombay I of 1808, which describes the Portuguese system in some detail.

(a) The island of Sashy (corrupted by the Portuguese into Salsette) was conquered by that nation in 1534 from the Mahomedan prince who was then its sovereign, and thereafter parcelled out among the European subjects into village allotments, at a very small *foro* or quit rent, those European proprietors continuing the local usage of levying, under the denomination of *tokah* or *demp*, an *ascertained* and *permanent* rent from the native Indians, who cultivated their estates, which was rated with a view to yield to the landlord *one-half of the crop*.

This produce consisted, as far as regarded the cultivation of rice grounds, of *chowka* or white, called also *gora* and of *khara* or *ratta* (i.e., salt or coloured batty, the term batty or paddy meaning rice in husk), the latter bearing throughout the island a very small proportion to the former.

The crops of the *chowka* being liable in ordinary years to little or no variation were subjected for the most part to the abovementioned fixed proportion of taxation on a bigha or other given extent of the several sorts of ground ; whilst those of the *khara* being more fluctuating and precarious were regulated at that early period by the contingent *ardhul* or *moiety of the varying annual produce*.

(b) For cultivation of surplus batty or rice lands, the Portuguese landholder allotted to the cultivator spare grounds called *chikal* and furnished him with the seed, on condition of the latter's rendering besides the amount of the original quantity of seed, the third or sometimes only a fourth, or still less proportion of the produce.

(c) (i) Holdings in *shilotri* tenure (called also *serroter*) consisted of lands said to have been acquired on favourable terms of tenure by purchase from the Portuguese, which property was respected throughout the subsequent revolutions.

(ii) Shilotri lands also consisted of certain plots of ground gained from the sea by embankment or brought into cultivation from the jungle or forest at the personal expense of individuals, who thence continued to pay thereon in several instances a fixed quit rent without reference to the produce.

(d) Some of the coarser grains, pulse and vegetables were raised, to a very limited extent, in a few available spots in the *donger* or hills whence this was known under the name of *dongar* or hill cultivation (Sections II, III and IV)

The Portuguese living thus in the separate management of their own estates, cultivation was comparatively prosperous and abounding without however attaining in their time to its fullest extent under the ancient native government.

The subject of the development of these owners has been discussed in my book on the "*Law of Salsette Land and Town Development.*"

ART. VIII—"The Story of the King and the
Gardener" in the *Waki'at-i Jehangiri* of
Emperor Jehangir and its Parallels.

By

DR. JIVANJI JASMEHEDJI MODI, B.A., PH. D., C.I.E.

(Read 24th January 1918.)

In the *Waki'at-i Jehangiri*, in the account of the thirteenth year of his reign, after describing the crossing of the river Mahi near Ahmedabad, Jehangir thus relates a story :—

"On the way I passed through a field of *Juvâr*, in which every plant had no less than twelve bunches of corn, while in other fields there is generally only one. It excited my astonishment and recalled to my mind the tale of the King and the Gardener. A King entered a garden during the heat of the day, and met a gardener there. He inquired of him whether there were any pomegranates and received a reply that there were. His Majesty told him to bring a cupful of the juice of that fruit on which the gardener told his daughter to execute that commission. She was a handsome and accomplished girl. She brought the cupful of that beverage, and covered it with a few leaves. The King drank it, and asked the girl why she had put the leaves over it. The girl with much readiness replied, that she had done it to prevent His Majesty drinking too fast, as drinking of liquids just after a fatiguing journey was not good. The King fell in love with her, and wished to take her into his palace. He asked the gardener how much he derived each year from his garden. He said 300 *dinârs*. He then asked how much he paid to the *diwân*. He gave answer that he did not pay anything on fruit-trees, but whatever sum he derived from his agriculture, he paid a tenth part to the State. His Majesty said within himself, 'There are numerous gardens and trees on my dominions; and if I fix a revenue of a tenth on them, I shall collect a great deal of money. He then desired the girl to bring another cup of the pomegranate juice. She was late in bringing it this time, and it was not much she brought. His Majesty asked her the reason of this deficiency, observing, that she brought it quickly the first time and in great plenty, that now she had delayed long, and brought but little. The daughter replied, 'The first time one pomegranate sufficed. I have now squeezed several, and have

not been able to obtain so much juice.' The Sultân was astonished, upon which her father replied that good produce is entirely dependent on the good disposition of the Sovereign ; that he believed that his guest was the King ; and that from the time he inquired respecting the produce of the garden, his disposition was altogether changed ; and that therefore the cup did not come full of the juice. The Sultân was impressed with his remark and resolved upon relinquishing the tax. After a little time, His Majesty desired the girl to bring a third cup of the same beverage. This time the girl came sooner, and with a cup brimful, which convinced the King that the surmise of the gardener was sound. The Sultân commended the gardener's penetration, and divulged to him his real rank, and the reflections which had been passing in his mind. He then asked to be allowed to take his daughter in marriage, in order that the memorial of this interview and its circumstances might remain for the instruction of the world. In short, the abundance of produce depends entirely on the good will and justice of the Sovereign. Thanks to the Almighty God, that no revenue on fruit-trees has been taken during my reign ; and I gave orders that if any one were to plant a garden in cultivated land, he was not to pay any revenue. I pray that the Almighty may cause the mind of this humble creature to entertain good and pure intentions " 1.

Now the question is: Who is the King of the Story ?

A Parallel from Emperor Jehangir does neither name the Shâh-nâmeh of king, nor does he give the name of the Firdousi. country. I think, the King is the King Behramgour of Persia. We find the following story about him in the Shâh-nâmeh of Firdousi :—On a day in the season of spring, when the ground was covered with vegetation and had become like the garden of paradise, King Behrangour went a-hunting. He had a good hunt. On the third day, he came across a large snake with two breasts like that of a woman. The king killed it with an arrow, and then, rending its breast with a dagger, found that the snake had devoured a young man. A few drops from the poisonous blood of the snake pained his eyes. He felt exhausted and his pain increased. He arrived *incognito* before a poor house, the land-lady of which, on his inquiring for help, welcomed him in her house. She shouted to her husband and asked him to look after the stranger. She showed herself to be more hospitable

¹ Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, pp. 364-65. We find this story in the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri with some difference here and there. (The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, by Rogers and Beveridge, pp. 50-52). For example, according to the latter, the girl said that the second time she squeezed 5 or 6 pomegranates, while the Wakît said several.

than her husband. Behrâm rested there for the night, and the next day she produced before him all that she could afford in her rustic house. Among the dainties, there was also a dish of harisah (هاریسہ) ¹. The traveller (king) was much pleased with her hospitality. Before retiring to bed, he asked the land-lady to regale his sick and suffering mind with some refreshing stories. If she liked, she may say something of the rule of the then king. Thereupon, the land-lady complained of the officers of the king who passed through the village one way or another on business. They accused some poor people of theft and extorted money from the innocent. They accused respectable women. These small extortions did not go to the treasury of the king, but, anyhow, they were taken as coming from the King. Behramgour, who was travelling incognito, was pained to learn all this. He thought to himself : " Though I do my best to rule well, my people do not distinguish between a good ruler and a bad ruler, and, on account of the misdeeds of my officers, accuse me of bad rule. In order to give my people an opportunity to feel the troubles of a bad rule, I would really try to rule badly for some time. The people then will be in a position to compare good rule and bad rule." He entertained this evil intention of being a bad ruler during the whole night which he passed restlessly from his pain. The next morning, the land-lady went to milch her cow, taking with her the usual quantity of grain and hay for it. She remembered her God as usual, and went to her work, but could get no milk from the cow. She thereupon shouted to her husband and said :— " My husband ! The mind of the ruling king has become evil. He has become oppressive. Since last time, (of milching), his good faith has left him." The husband thereupon asked for the reason to say so. She replied : " When the king becomes evil-minded, the milk gets dried in the breasts of the cows. We have not decrased her food and drink. So, how is it that her milk has gone off ? "

Behramgour heard this loud conversation between the wife and the husband, and reported of his evil intention of being really oppressive for some time. He said to himself : " I would

¹ Mecan's Calcutta edition, Vol. III. p. 1514 l. 19. It is " a kind of thick pottage made of bruised wheat boiled to a consistency, to which meat, butter, cinnamon, and aromatic herbs are added." (Steingass). Harisah still forms a special dish of sweets among the Parsees, especially at the end of the Favardegân or Muktâd holidays. From the accounts of the Parsee Punchayat of Bombay of 1832, we find, that the Trustees provided that sweet dish on the above occasion at the communal expense to all those who asked for it. We find a sum of Rupees one hundred and one debited for it for several years. It was prepared at the Manockji Seth's Wadi in the Fort, from where anybody who wanted it took a portion. (Vide the Bombay Samachar of 14th September 1832.)

rather like to be without a royal throne than that my heart should turn away from justice." ¹ A short time after, the land-lady again tried to milk the cow. She began to get the milk as usual. She thanked God, saying, "O God! You have made the unjust king just again." Thereafter, Behramgour revealed himself before the peasant couple.

It seems that it is some version of this story of King Behramgour that Emperor Jehangir refers to, as the story of the King and the Gardener.

I remember having heard, when a boy, another version of this story. It is to the following effect:—A Another parallel. king, feeling exhausted in a hunt, went to the hut of a gardener and asked for a drink from his wife. She went with a cup and a thorn to her sugar-cane field, and, pricking the thorn in a sugarcane, held the cup before the hole made in it. The cup was soon filled with juice. The king got refreshed with the cup and was surprised at the amazing fertility of the soil of this part of his country. On his way homeward, he thought, that the land-tax of that portion of the country was not, looking to its fertility, what it ought to be. He went home and ordered the tax to be increased. A few days after, he again went to the same hut and asked for a drink. The land lady went to her field and, pricking a sugar-cane with a thorn, held a cup before it, but no juice came out of it. She at once shouted: "The good faith of the King has changed". It is said, that the king, seeing with his own eyes what had happened, repented of his conduct and ordered the reduction of the tax again.

APPENDIX.

On the report of the Society's meeting with an outline of this paper, appearing in the public papers, Miss Dino S. Bastawala, a talented promising young lady, a grand-daughter of Sir Dinsha Edalji Wacha, wrote to me on 27th January 1918 and drew my attention to a version of the above story as given in the Arabian Nights. I thank Miss Bastawala for kindly drawing my attention to this version, which I give below, following Sir Richard Burton's translation: ²

اگر قاب گیرد دل من ر داد

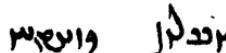
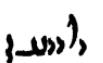
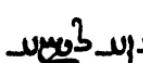
از اندیس مرا تخت شاہی میباشد

¹ Plain and Literal Translation of the Arabian Nights, by Richard F. Burton, Vol V, pp. 87-88, 889th and 890th Nights.

"KING KISRA ANUSHIRWAN AND THE
VILLAGE DAMSEL.

'The just King Kisrâ Anushirwân one day rode forth to the chase and, in pursuit of a deer, became separated from his suite. Presently, he caught sight of a hamlet near hand and being sore athirst, he made for it and presenting himself at the door of a house that lay by the wayside, asked for a draught of water. So a damsel came out and looked at him : then, going back into the house, pressed the juice from a single sugar-cane into a bowl and mixed it with water : after which she strewed on the top some scented stuff, as it were dust, and carried it to the King. Thereupon he seeing in it what resembled dust, drank it, little by little, till he came to the end ; when said he to her, 'O damsel, the drink is good, and how sweet it had been but for this dust in it, that troubleth it' Answered she, 'O guest, I put in that powder for a purpose,' and he asked 'And why didst thou thus ?' so she replied, 'I saw thee exceeding thirsty and feared that thou wouldest drain the whole at one draught and that this would do thee mischief ; and but for this dust that troubled the drink so hadst thou done.' The just King wondered at her words, knowing that they came of her wit and good sense, and said to her, 'From how many sugar-canies didst thou express this draught ?' 'One,' answered she, whereat Anushirwan marvelled and, calling for the register of the village taxes, saw that its assessment was but little and bethought him to increase it, on his return to his palace, saying in himself, 'A village where they get this much juice out of one sugar-cane, why is it so lightly taxed ?' He then left the village and pursued his chase ; and, as he came back at the end of the day, he passed alone by the same door and called again for drink ; whereupon the same damsel came out and, knowing him at a look, went in to fetch him water. It was some time before she returned and Anushirwan wondered thereat and said to her, 'Why hast thou tarried ?' She answered, 'Because a single sugar-cane gave not enough for thy need ; so I pressed three ; but they yielded not so much as did one before.' Rejoined he, 'What is the cause of that ?' ; and she replied, 'The cause of it is that when the Sultan's mind is changed against a folk, their prosperity ceaseth and their goods waxeth less.' So Anushirwan laughed and dismissed from his mind that which he had purposed against the villagers. Moreover, he took the damsel to wife then and there, being pleased with her much wit and acuteness and the excellence of her speech.'

As to the name¹ of the King Anushirwan, Burton says, that "the beautiful name is Persian 'Anûshin-ravân'—sweet of soul". This derivation is not correct. The original name of the King is Khusro, which has given us the Greek form Chosroë, Arabic Kisrâ, modern Kaisar. In the Pahlavi and Pazend books, he is

spoken of as Kusru-i-Kavâtan¹  i. e., Khusru, the son of Kavâd or Kobad. His epithet in Pahlavi was Anushê-rôbân²  Av. Anaosha-urvan ,  i. e., the immortal-souled, glorious.

¹ Zandi Vohuman Yasht (Dastur Kalkobad's Text) chap. 1, 5; II 21.

² Ibid.

ART. IX—*An Instance of Royal Swayamvara as Described in the Shâh-Nâmeh of Firdousi.*

By

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

(Read 24th January 1918).

The word Swayamvara (स्वयम् वर्) in Sanscrit literally means 'self-choice' from svayam (स्वयम् one's self (from sva = Av. hva—Lat. Se, suns) and var वर् (Av. var—Lat. velle) to choose. Then, it means the self-choice of a husband or choice-marriage. Choice-marriage, though not common among modern Hindus, is not rare. But, in ancient India, it seems to have been somewhat rare. The word Swayamvara specially came to be applied to choice-marriages by princesses among the ancient royal families of India. An article, entitled "Ancient Royal Hindu Marriage Customs," by Pandit Vishwanath in the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,¹ which has suggested to me the subject of this short paper, says on this subject: "The mode of winning a wife² at that time among Kshatriyas was that called a swayamvara or self-choice. Kings and princes used to be invited by the bride's father to his capital, and they displayed their skill at games and their prowess in arms and performed great feats of strength. The bride witnessed them all and chose him who pleased her most."

I give here, in brief, the two cases of Swayamvara given in the paper, as there are here and there a few points which will bear some comparison in the case I propose giving from the Shâh-nâmeh. The story of the first case of Swayamvara, mentioned in the article, is that of Gangâ, the great goddess of rivers who was ordered to be born on earth to punish Mahâbhisha, who, when in heaven, did not respect her modesty, by bending his head when others did so, on finding that her body was accidentally exposed by a gust of wind blowing away her clothes. When born on earth, Gangâ sought marriage with the pious King Pratipa. Pratipa refused, but promised to see that his son who was to be born may marry her. A son was born to him and named

¹ Vol. XLVII, January to June 1917, pp. 31-36.

² Rather, winning a husband.

Shântanu (son of the peaceful). Pratipa relinquished his throne, and gave it to his son Shântanu, and asked him to marry a celestial maiden (Gangâ) to whom he had promised such a marriage. The marriage came of itself without Sântanu knowing that the lovely maiden, whom he saw on the bank of the Ganges and afterwards married, was herself Gangâ whom his father had asked him to marry. The principal condition of marriage provided that Shântanu was to let the girl do whatever she liked and not speak a word of protest. Eight sons were born, one after another, but all, except the last one, were killed by the mother. When the eighth was born, the father, in spite of his promise not to protest against any of his wife's doings, remonstrated, and the child was saved. Thereupon, the wife explained, that all the eight children were the eight *vasus*, thieves in heaven, who had stolen the *nandini* cow of a *rishi*, and that they were therefore, for divine punishment, made to be born on earth. When punished, they apologized, and so, were permitted to return to heaven, but the eighth, Dyân by name, being the greatest offender, was not pardoned and was destined to remain on earth. All that was destined to happen did happen. However, Gangâ brought up and trained the saved child as a good son, most dutiful and affectionate to his father. One day, the father Shântanu while going about on the banks of Yamunâ (Jamnâ) saw a lovely daughter of a fisherman and fell in love with her. The father agreed to give him his daughter Satyavati in marriage, provided, the king undertook, that the son that may be born be appointed heir. Shântanu could not agree to let his dutiful son Dyân to be superseded. Under the circumstances, the marriage could not take place. Dyân, finding that his father had become morose and dejected, inquired from his Minister, what the cause was. On learning it, he secretly went to the fisherman and asked him to give his daughter in marriage to his father, promising on his part, that he would let the male progeny of his father's second marriage succeed to the throne. The fisherman said, that he accepted the prince's word, but what if the son or sons that may be born to the prince would not accept the arrangement? The dutiful son, in order to remove even that remote chance of a future objection, undertook never to marry and remained celibate. The gods in heaven blessed this dutiful son, who thence came to be known as Bhishma, i.e., the terrible, because of the terrible vow he took for the sake of his father. The marriage took place. Two sons—Chitrangad and Vichitravirya—were the fruits of the marriage. When Shântanu died, Chitrangad came to the throne. Being a minor at the time, his elder step-brother Bhishma acted as his protector. Chit-

rangad being killed in battle Vichitravirya came to the throne. "The mode of winning a wife at that time amongst Kshatriyas was that called a swayamvara or 'self-choice.' Kings and princes used to be invited by the bride's father to his capital and they displayed their skill at games and their prowess in arms and performed great feats of strength. The bride witnessed them all, and chose him who pleased her most." Vichitravirya was too young to take part in such a competition, but his mother being eager to see him married, Bhishma took upon himself the task of finding him a queen. At a *swayamvara*, he carried off by force three daughters of the King of Kashi, challenging all the assembled princes to wrest the girls from him if they could. The oldest of the three princesses having told Bhishma that she had taken a vow to marry another prince, she was let go and the other two were married to Vichitravirya, who unfortunately died some time after. He left no issue and this caused the further grief of seeing the royal house heirless. To avoid this calamity, their mother Satyavati requested Bhishma to marry the widows of his step-brother, but he declined as he had, under arrangement with Satyavati's fisherman-father, taken a vow of celibacy. However, to avoid the disappointment of seeing the royal line extinct, Bhishma advised Satyavati to perform *niyoga*, which was a practice¹ resorted to in emergency. The practice was, that when a person died heirless, somebody else, for whom the family had a regard or affection, was asked to beget children to the widow. The children thus born were not the children of the new or second husband but of the deceased first husband. When so advised, Satyavati remembered Krishna Dvapāyana Vyāsa, her son by her former husband Parasha who was a great sage. When they parted, this son had promised his mother to go to her help whenever she wanted help. She had only to think of him and he would appear. So, during this emergency Satyavati thought of her son Vyāsa and he appeared. The mother asked him to beget children to the widows of her deceased son Vichitravirya. He

¹ The form of marriage, referred to in this Indian story as Chakravand, reminds us of an old Iranian form of marriage known as Chakravan. The Indian form of marriage, known as Chakravand, is one, in which, when a person dies heirless, somebody else for whom the family had regard or affection was asked to beget children to the widow of the deceased. When children were born of such an union, they were taken to be the children of the deceased husband. Of the five kinds of wife in ancient Persia, some of which are referred to in the Pahlavi books, and which are explained in some detail in the Persian *Kivayets*, one is known as the Chakravan. The wife is a widow who marries again. If she has no children by her first husband, she marries a second husband, stipulating that half her children by the second husband should be taken as belonging to the first husband in the other world. She herself continues to belong to the first husband. Vide S. B. E. Vol. V. p. 142 n. 10.

consented. But as he was very ugly and was therefore called Krishna, i.e., black, the widows did not like that he should beget children; but, on the request of their royal mother-in-law and for the sake of saving the royal line from extinction, they consented. They were excused the whole year's purificatory penances, as their toleration of Vyâsa's ugliness was in itself a penance.¹ The elder widow, in order to avoid the sight of the ugly man with whom she had to associate against her will, shut her eyes for the time being. Vyâsa predicted for her son a blind son, who on being born was named Dhritarâshtra. The younger widow, on looking at the ugly associate, turned pale. The son born to her was born pale and he was named Pandu, the pale. The queen wished for a third son, perhaps because one was blind and the other was pale. But the elder widowed daughter-in-law, in order to avoid being with the ugly man, sent one of her maids to Vyâsa. This maid reverently submitted and so a good saintly son was born to her and was named Vidura.

Bhishma looked after the education of these brothers who turned out learned as well as sportsmenlike. Dhritarâshtra, being blind, the second son Pandu came to the throne. He married two wives, Kunti and Madri, but, once, having shot a stag when it was coupling with its mate, received a curse that if he lived with his wives, he would soon die. So, he went into retirement in a jungle followed by his wives even there. When there for some time, he began to wish that he may have children. His wife Kunti said, that she knew a mantra, by the recital of which she could summon gods Dharma (god of justice), Vâyu (god of wind), and Indra, the king of all gods to come and live with her. The result was the birth of three sons, Yudhishthra, Bhima and Arjun. The second wife Mâdri also, by virtue of the mantra taught to her by Kunti, summoned the twins Aswins and the result was the birth of two sons, Nakula and Sahadewa. Kunti had already a son Karna, born from the sun before her marriage with Pandu. It was this son, who, as described in *Mahâbhârata*, fought against the sons of Pandu. Pandu died as the result of the abovementioned curse, having one day embraced his Mâdri. His wife also thereupon committed suttee.

The account of the second case of Swayamvara runs as follows:—"King Drupada had heard much of Arjuna's skill as an archer and wanted to give him his daughter Draupadi in marriage. But he wished that she should be won in a swayamvara. He made a great bow which he thought none but Arjuna could bend, and placed on a lofty pole a revolving fish whose eye was

to be the mark. He who could hit was to marry his daughter. A great crowd of kings assembled for the contest, but all failed to bend the bow. Then Karna stepped forward and strung it and took aim with an arrow. Just as the Pandava brothers, who had so far not come forward and were disguised as Brahmans, were giving way to despair, Draupadi spoke in clear accents :—"I will not take a low-born man for my husband." At this, Karna put down the bow and went away, but Arjuna came forward looking like a Brahman, lifted the bow, drew it, and hit the mark. Flowers rained from heaven, and Draupadi put a garland of sweet flowers round Arjuna's neck as a sign of her choice. The crowd of kings protested that a Brahman must not carry off a Kshatriya girl and fought for her possession, but the Pandavas defeated them all and carried the bride home.

Now I come to the story of the Shâh-nâmeh: The King Gustâsp of the Shâh-nâmeh is the King Vishtâsp of the Avesta. He was the son of Lohrâsp, the Aurvat-aspâ of the Avesta. He was the father of Aspandyâr, the Spento-data of the Avesta. In one point, we find a parallel between the story of these three kings and that of the Mogul Emperors Jehangir, Shâh Jahân, and Aurangzebe. Shâh Jahân was an undutiful son of Jehangir. In turn, he was ill-treated by his son Aurangzebe. Gushtâsp also was an undutiful son, who wanted the throne of Persia in the life-time of his father. In turn, his son Aspandyâr wanted his throne in his life-time. When Kaikhusro, who, in the matter of his retirement from the world, is compared to Yudhisthira,¹ abdicated the throne of Persia and retired childless into a wilderness, he, setting aside, as heirs to the throne, other descendants of his grandfather Kai Kâus, appointed, as his heir, Lohrâsp who was descended from a brother of Kâus. Lohrâsp was unknown to the courtiers, but Kaikhusru thought highly of him as a good successor. Lohrâsp, on coming to the throne, repaid Kaikhusru's kindness towards him, by showing special favours to the other heirs who were displaced. Thereupon, his son Gushtâsp felt offended. He did not like that his royal father should love his distant nephews more than himself. Fearing, lest he may displace him and appoint somebody else from the family of Kâus as his heir, he began to quarrel with his father and asked for the throne in his life-time. His wishes not being complied with, he left the royal court to come to India, but he was pursued by his uncle Zarir, persuaded and taken back. He again left the court,

¹ *Vide Journal B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVII. Abstract of Proceedings pp. 11-IV, Journal Asiatique (1887) Huitième série, Tome X pp. 38-75.*

and, under an assumed name of Farrokhzâd, went to the country of Roum. There, when he sat one day homeless and friendless bemoaning his fallen fortune, the headman of the village, being struck with his manly and noble appearance, befriended him and took him to his own place as his guest.

Now, the royal custom with the Kaisar, the ruler of that land, for the marriage of his daughters was as follows:—

The King called in his palace an assembly (إِنْجَمْن) of young men of position and wisdom, and the princess chose from among them a young man for her husband. The then Kaisar had three beautiful daughters, the eldest of whom was named Kaitâyun. He called an assembly of young men from whom Kaitâyun can choose her husband. The night before the day of the assembly she dreant as follows: "Her country was illuminated by the sun. There assembled a gathering of young men, so large, that even the Pleiades would make way before it. In that assembly there was a foreigner, who, though poor and distressed, was very wise. He was as straight and tall as a cypress and as beautiful as the moon. His demeanour and manner of sitting were such as befitted a king sitting on his throne. She (Kaitâyun) presented a nosegay of myrtle-coloured fragrant flowers to him and received one from him."

The next morning, the princess went with her 60 court-ladies to the assembly of the young men, convened by her father, to choose a husband for herself. She held a nosegay of roses in her hand. She moved about among the young men, but found none whom she could like for marriage. She returned to her palace, dejected and disappointed for not having found a husband to her liking.

When the Kaisar learnt that his daughter found no young man to her liking from among the young men of the first rank in wealth and nobility, he called another assembly, to which he invited young men of the second grade or the middle class. The notice convening this second assembly was given in the city and in the adjoining country. Thereupon, the host of Gushtâsp pressed him to go to that assembly with him. Gushtâsp accompanied him and sat in a corner, a little dejected. The princess went in the assembly with her court-ladies and moved about among the people, till, at length, she came near Gushtâsp. She saw him and said "The secret of that dream is solved." She then placed her crown on the head of Gushtâsp and chose him as her husband. The prime minister of the Kaisar, learning this, hastened towards his royal master and said: "Kaitâyun has chosen from among the assembly a young man who is as erect

as a cypress, and as handsome as a rose and has a commanding stature ; whoever sees him admires him. One may say, that the glory of God shines in his face. But we do not know who he is."

The Kaisar, finding that the young man was an unknown foreigner, did not like the choice. His minister tried his best to persuade him, that he could not now act against the usual royal custom of selection, but to no purpose. The king then handed over Kaitâyun to the young man without any dowry or gift and asked both to leave his court. Gushtâsp, seeing what had happened, tried on his part to dissuade the princess, saying he was a poor man. Kaitâyun thereupon said : " Do not be distressed with what our fate has destined. When I am contented with thee, why do you ask me to choose, as husband, one with the prospects of a crown or throne ? " The couple then left the royal palace and Gushtâsp's host kindly made proper lodging arrangements for the couple at his house. Though the king had given nothing as dowry or gift, the princess had very rich jewellery on her body when she left her royal father's palace. With that, she tried to set up her new house and to live with her husband pretty comfortably. Gushtâsp often went a-hunting and presented the game he killed to his friends.

After this event, the Kaisar did away with the above custom, and for the marriage of his two other daughters he himself tried to find out proper husbands. One Mirân, a member of a high family, asked for the hand of the Kaisar's second daughter. The king said to the suitor, that he would accept his offer if he achieved a great deed. He asked him to prove his bravery and fitness by killing a ferocious wolf in the adjoining village of Fâskun. Mirân had not the required courage and strength to do so. So, through the intercession of a mutual friend, he got the wolf killed by the brave foreigner, Gushtâsp. He then went before the king, and, claiming the credit of killing the ferocious wolf, asked the king's daughter in marriage. The king acting according to his promise, brought about the marriage.

One Åhran also married the third daughter of the Kaisar, similarly seeking the help of brave Gushtâsp for killing a ferocious snake which caused terror in the adjoining country.

The Kaisar occasionally held athletic sports in an open place which were open to all sportsmen of his country. At the desire of Kaitâyun, Gushtâsp attended one of these, and by displaying his courage, strength and intelligence, drew the admiration of all. He also drew the admiration of the king himself, who was

then soon reconciled with his son-in-law. Gushtâsp had still continued to be known under the name of Farrokhzâd, but an embassy from Persia from the court of Lohrâsp, who was challenged to war by the Kaisar at the instigation of Farrokhzâd (Gushtâsp) divulged the whole secret. The Kaisar became glad, when he knew all the facts, and was proud of his matrimonial alliance with the royal family of Persia.

There seem to be several points of similarity as well as difference in the Swayamvara cases referred to in the Indian and Persian stories. In the story of Gushtâsp, we observe a new trait, *viz.*, that of the dream of Kaitâyun. Again, the first assemblies, or Anjumans are without athletic sports. It is later on, that there is the assembly where athletic sports take place and where Gushtâsp by his extraordinary sportsmanlike feats wins the favour of his royal father-in-law. Again, just as Bhishma by his bravery won two daughters of the King Kashi for the two princes, so did Gushtâsp win the two daughters of the Kaisar for two princes. The garlanding of the chosen husband by the princess is common to the Indian and Persian cases. In both the stories, the question of the position of the family of the bridegroom is attended to. In the Indian case, it is the bride herself who is solicitous about it

ART. X—*Archery in Ancient Persia.—A Few Extraordinary Feats.*

By

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The subject of this paper is suggested by an interesting article on "Taxila as a Seat of Learning in the Pali Introduction. Literature," by Mr. Bimaha Charan Law in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series Vol. XII 1916 No. 11). Taxala was the place which "pupils from different parts of India used to visit for learning various arts and sciences". From a para in the article, entitled "Archery," we learn, that archery also was taught at Taxala. Some feats in archery are specially mentioned, e.g., (a) that of bringing down a mango from the top of a tree, (b) piercing by one arrow four plantain plants kept on four sides. These feats remind one of such feats of archery among the ancient Persians, especially of the feats of King Bahramgour. I will speak on my subject under two heads: I, Archery among the ancient Persians as referred to in the Avesta and elsewhere, and II, A few feats of Archery, referred to by Firdousi and others.

1

Archery as referred to in the Avesta.

The ancient Iranians learned Archery from their very childhood. Archery among the ancient Iranians from the age of five years to twenty, they according to Herodotus, instruct their sons in three things only: to ride, to use the bow and to speak the truth'.¹ Herodotus, in his account of Xerxes' expedition against the Greeks, thus speaks of the dress and arms of the ancient Persians: ² "On their heads, they wore loose coverings, called tiaras; on the body, various coloured sleeved breast-plates, with iron scales like those of fish; and on their legs, loose trousers; and instead of shields, bucklers made of osiers;

¹ Herodotus Bk. I, 186, Carey's translation (1889) p. 61.

² Ibid, Bk. VII, 61, p. 438.

and, under them their quivers were hung. They had short spears, long bows and arrows made of cane and besides, daggers suspended from the girdle on the right thigh".

Prof. Jackson thus speaks of the evidence presented by the ancient monuments on the subject of bows, arrows and quivers: "The large quiver is prominent in the figures of the Dieulafoy archers and in the case of the sculptures on the Behistan rock. In both these instances the quiver is suspended from the back. . . . The quiver, merely as arrow-holder, is alluded to in *Æschylus Persæ*, 1001-3. . . . The bow appears in most of the sculptures and monuments, and is naturally mentioned as an important weapon in Iranian as in other ancient writers. On the monuments the bow is usually represented as strung and as suspended at the left shoulder. . . . The arrows are naturally mentioned again and again in connection with the bow. Herodotus says that the Persian arrows were made of reed; in the Iranian writings there seems to be no mention of the material from which the shaft is made, but the weighing and tipping of the arrow is described. In the Avesta (Vd. XIV, 9), the number of darts carried in the quiver is thirty."¹

The Avesta² gives a list of twelve weapons used by the ancient Iranians. Therein we find "the fourth a bow, the fifth a quiver with shoulder-belt and thirty brass-headed arrows".³

"Falcon-winged arrows" (*ishavascha érézifyô-paréna*) are mentioned in one place⁴ in connection with the bow. In another place⁵ we read of "vulture-feathered, gold-notched, lead-poised arrows." The Fravardin Yasht⁶ speaks of the Fravashis as affording protection against "well-aimed arrows" (*ishushhvâthakhtô*).

The Avesta word for a bow is *thanvarê*⁷ or *thanvara*⁸ or *thanvana*⁹ or *thanvaréti*¹⁰ (Sanskrit धनुः, धन्व, धनस्) from the root *tan* (Sans. तन्, P. تندان *tanúdan*, Lat. *tendere*,

¹ Prof. Jackson's article on "Herodotus VII, 61, or the Arms of the Ancient Persians illustrated from Iranian Souvenirs" in the Volume of the Classical Studies in honour of Henry Drisler, (1894, pp. 95-125) p. 100.

² Vendidad XIV 9. ³ B. E. (1880) Vol. IV. p. 160.

⁴ Vend XVII 9, 10, *Ibid* p. 188.

⁵ Meher Yasht (Yt. X), 129, *Vide* Prof. Jackson's above article p. 105.

⁶ Yt. XIII, 72.

⁷ Vendidad XVII, 9, 10. ⁸ Vend. XIV 9. ⁹ Meher Yasht (Yt. X, 39). ¹⁰ *Ibid*, 128.

Fr. *é-tendre*, Guj. तानवू *Tānvun* to stretch. The bow-string is *jya*, Sans. ज्या Pers. *šj*. The material of the bow-string was cow-gut (*gavaçnahē sn̄dvyā jya*).¹

For the arrow we find the following words in the Avesta :

- (a) *ainghimana*² from the root ah or aç (Sans. अस) to throw.
- (b) *agti*³ from root aç to throw.
- (c) *ishu*⁴ (Sans. इशु) from the root ish, Sans. इश to throw.
- (d) *tigrn*⁵ Pers. (تیج) from root *tij* Sans. तिज to sharpen (from which root 'tij,' come the English words, stimulate, instigate).

As to the material of the arrows, we read of the arrows being vulture-feathered, gold-pointed or yellow-pointed, horn-handled and iron-bladed (*kahrkâçô-parênanâm*, *zaranyô-zafrâm*, *çravî stayâm*, *ayanghaêna sparêgha*).⁶

We learn from the Avesta and Pahlavi books, that the symbolic signifi. weapons of war which an Iranian soldier cation of a bow and (*rathaêshâtâr*) carried, were metaphorically arrow. or symbolically taken to be the weapons of a priest (*Âthravan*) to fight against evil. In the Khorshed Yasht (Yt. VI 5) one praises the *vazra* or *gurz*, i.e., the mace, for striking it upon the heads of the Daêvas or evil-doers. So, in the case of the bow and arrow, they are taken to be symbolical for mental perfection and the spirit of liberality. We read in the Mino-kherad the following question and answer :

The question is " How is it possible to make Aûharmazd, the arch-angels, and the fragrant, well-pleasing heaven more fully for oneself ? And how is it possible to make Aharman, the wicked, and the demons confounded ? " In reply, it is said, that that can be done " when they make the spirit of wisdom a protection for the back, and wear the spirit of contentment on the body, like arms and armour and valour, and make the spirit of truth a shield, the spirit of thankfulness a club, the spirit of complete mindfulness a bow, and the spirit of liberality an arrow "⁷

¹ *Ibid.* 123.

² *Yacna* LVII. 28.

³ *Meher Yasht* (Yt. X, 113).

⁴ *Meher Yasht* (Yt. X 24).

⁵ *Tir Yasht* (Yt. VIII) 6.

⁶ *Meher Yasht* (Yt. X., 129).

⁷ *Chap.* XLIII. 1-12. *West S.B.E.* XXIV, pp. 83-84.

The fact, that the bow and arrow were held as symbols for some mental qualities or virtues, is illustrated by some semi-religious Achæmenian sculptures. There, in the midst of some religious associations, a king is represented as drawing his bow with all his possible strength. That signifies, that one must do his level best in his line of life and do good to others. Dr. Bartholomæ has very suggestively put this figure on some of his Iranian publications with the words under it : "Wie du kannst so wolle" i.e., "Wish as thou canst". The signification is : The more you draw your bow with all your possible strength, the more distant will the arrow go. So, put forth all possible energy in your work and the result will be proportionately good.

II

Some Extraordinary Feats in Archery.

We will now describe some feats of archery, attributed to king Bahramgour by Firdousi and other Persian writers. Bahramgour was a typical Iranian, possessing masterly skill in archery. The poet thus refers to him in the words of a translator

"The Lion and the Lizard keep
The Courts where Jamsheyd gloried and drank deep :"
And Bahram, that great Hunter—the Wild Ass
Stamps o'er his head, but cannot break his sleep."

His name was Bahram, but he was called Bahram Gour, because he was very fond of killing the gour, *جور* i.e., the wild ass in the hunt.

Sir John Malcolm, one of the distinguished past-Presidents of our Society, and a Governor of our city, thus describes, an anecdote of one of Bahramgour's hunting feats in archery as heard by him during one of his visits of Persia, at a known hunting seat of Bahram.

" Baharam, proud of his excellence as an archer, wished to display it before a favourite lady. He Malcolm's story. carried her to the plain; an antelope was soon found, asleep. The monarch shot an arrow with such precision as to graze its ear. The animal awoke, and put his hind hoof to the ear, to strike off the fly by which he conceived himself annoyed. Another arrow fixed his hoof to his horn. Baharam turned to the lady, in expectation of her praises : she coolly observed, *Neeko kurden z pur kurden est*; "Practice makes perfect." Enraged at this uncourteous observation, the king ordered her to be sent into the mountains to perish.

Her life was saved by the mercy of a minister, who allowed her to retire to a small village on the side of a hill. She lodged in an upper room, to which she ascended by twenty steps. On her arrival she bought a small calf, which she carried up and down the stairs every day. This exercise was continued for four years; and the increase of her strength kept pace with the increasing weight of the animal. Baharam, who had supposed her dead, after a fatiguing chase stopped one evening at this village. He saw a young woman carrying a large cow up a flight of twenty steps. He was astonished, and sent to inquire how strength so extraordinary had been acquired by a person of so delicate a form. The lady said she would communicate her secret to none but Baharam; and to him only on his condescending to come alone to her house. The king instantly went; on his repeating his admiration of what he had seen, she bade him not lavish praises where they were not due: 'Practice makes perfect', said she, in her natural voice, and at the same time lifted up her veil. Baharam recognised and embraced his favourite. Pleased with the lesson she had given him, and delighted with the love which had led her to pass four years in an endeavour to regain his esteem, he ordered a palace to be built on the spot, as a hunting-seat, and a memorial of this event.¹

The story, as given by Firdousi, says, that the woman in the Firdousi's ver- story was neither Bahram's favourite wife nor sion of this story. his queen. She was a favourite flute-player. The place of the story was Arabia and the time his boyhood when he was under the tutelage of Naamān (نامان) at the Court of Manzar (مانزار). The story, as heard by Malcolm, seems to be another version of it. Firdousi's story runs as follows:² Baharām, who was a very clever hand in hunting, went one day to the chase with Azdeh, a woman of Roum, who was his favourite flute-player. He came across two antelopes, one male and the other female. Baharām asked Azdeh "Which of the two you wish me to aim at?" She replied, "A brave man never fights with antelopes, so you better turn with your arrows the female into a male and the male into a female. Then, when an antelope passes by your side, you aim at him an arrow, in such a way, that it merely touches his ear without hurting it, and that when he lays down his ear over the shoulder and raises his foot to scratch it, you aim another arrow in such a way as to pierce the head, the shoulder and the foot all at the same time." Baharām had with him an arrow with two points. He aimed it

¹ Malcolm's History of Persia, 2nd ed. (1839), Vol. I, p. 94, n. 1.

² Vide my paper on "The Education among the Ancient Iranians," p. 14.

at the male in such a way that it carried away his two horns and gave him the appearance of a female. Then he threw two arrows at the female antelope in such a clever way, that they struck her head and stuck themselves over it, so as to give her the appearance of a male with two horns. Then he aimed his arrow at another antelope, so as to merely touch his ears. The animal raised his foot to scratch his ear, when Baharam aimed at him another arrow, so cleverly, that he hit the head, the ear and the foot all at the same time. The woman thereupon shed tears from her eyes, saying, it was inhuman on the part of Baharam to have so killed the poor animal. This enraged Baharam, who had done all this at her bidding. He said: 'It is all a deceit on your part. If I had failed in doing what you ordered me to do, my family would have been put to shame.' With these words he immediately killed her.

Madame Dieulafoy, in her "La Perse, La Chaldee et La Susiane" (p. 357), gives a painting illustrating

Madame Dieulafoy's painting. the above story. She found it decorating a door-frame in a house which she occupied in the valley of Eclid. Her painting entitled "Rencontre de Baharam et de son ancienne favourite" gives us a picture of the favourite woman in the story, carrying the calf on her back over the steps.

Tabari¹ describes another archery-feat of Behramgour: "One

Another hunting-day Behramgour, when he was in Arabia in his boyhood with the Arab King Manzar, went a-hunting. He saw a wild ass running. Tabari.

It was being overtaken by a lion. The lion was on the point of devouring the ass. Behram then threw an arrow with such dexterity that it passed through the lion and the ass, and killed them both at the same time. Manzar is said to have ordered this hunting-scene to be painted on the walls of the palace where Behramgour lived.

The Avesta speaks of a famous archer whose arrow went along Erekhsa, a famous Iranian an enormous distance. He is referred to in the Tir Yasht, the Yasht in honour of Tir or archer. Tishtrya, the star Sirius, whose enormous speed is compared to that of the arrow (*tir*) thrown by him on a historical occasion. We read as follows:

Tishtrīm stārem raēventem kharenanghantem yazamāidē yō
avavat khshvaēwō vazāiti avi zrayō vouru-kashem yatha tigrish
mainivāçāo yim anghat Erekhsō khshaviwi-ishush khshviwi-
ishvatemō Airyanām Airyō Khshaothat hacha garōt khanvan-

¹ Tabari par Zoteberg, Vol. II, pp. 111-12.

tem avi gairim (Tir Yasht. Yt. VIII, 6. We read the same passage again later on (s. 37) in the same yasht with the addition of two words "âçu-khshavaêwem khshviwi-vâzom" i.e., " swift-running and swift-going" as further adjectives for Tishtrya).

Translation.—We invoke the brilliant shining star Tishtrya, which moves as fast towards the Vourukasha (the Caspian) Sea, as the mental arrow (i.e., the arrow whose speed cannot be measured but only mentally conceived) which was of Erekhsa, the swift Iranian archer, the swiftest (Iranian) archer among all the Iranians (who threw it) from the Khshaotha mountain to the Khanvant mountain.

The feat of archery by a great Iranian archer referred to here, is that of throwing an arrow from one mountain to another distant mountain. We are not in a position, on the authority of Avesta or Pahlavi books, to identify the two mountains—Khshaotha and Khanvant—and the distance between them. But the Arab historian Tabari helps us in this matter, and throws much light upon this passage of the Avesta, which otherwise would have remained much obscure. We learn the following details from this historian.¹

Minocheher, the Iranian king who was fighting in a war with Afrâsiâb, the Turanian king, was besieged in the fort of Amoul in the province of Tabaristan.² The siege lasted long, because Minocheher and his army could get and grow in the fort, all the articles of food except pepper. The want of pepper which grew in Hindustan was, on the advice of the sages of Minocheher, met by the use of ginger and of a plant named *term* (مرج) which grew there. So, the siege lasted for ten years. According to Tabari, Minocheher, the besieged sovereign, even sent a few things as presents to Afrâsiâb. He says: "Minocheher remained in the castle, and was not once (during the ten years) obliged to procure either clothing or food from any other place; for he possessed there such a superfluity of garments, carpets, herbs, and vegetables of every kind that he occasionally sent some as presents to Afrâsiâb; thus saying 'how longsoever you may continue before the gates of this city, I cannot suffer any injury, defended by so strong a castle.'"³ At the end of ten years, Afrâsiâb raised the siege, because there was a great loss of life in his troops, owing to sickness, resulting from the great humidity of the air round the besieged mountain. Both the

¹ I follow Tabari, traduit par Zotenberg, Vol. I, pp. 278-80. Partie I, Chap. 68.

² The Pahlavi Bundehesh speaks of this fortress as situated on the mountain of Padashkhvârgar. Chap. XXXI 21-22. Vide my Bundehesh, pp. 179-72.

³ Ouseley's Travels III, p. 301.

kings then made peace on the condition, that their frontiers may be fixed. It was arranged, that Minocheher may select the best of his Iranian archers, and direct him to throw an arrow from a peak of the Demavand.¹ The place, *i.e.*, a line extending both ways from the place where the arrow fell, may serve as the boundary line for the country under dispute. Minocheher found one Åresh to be the best archer in his country. He asked him to throw an arrow with all his force. He did so, and the arrow crossed the province of Tabaristan, Nishâpour, Sarakhs, Merv, and fell on the banks of the river Jehoun (جهون). It was an extraordinary feat to throw an arrow hundreds of miles away. Afrâsiâb had to stand true to the condition and to accept the boundary thus fixed.

I give below the passage from a recent text of Tabari² which gives a simple narration of the story. His version saves the story from any kind of improbability in the matter of an enormous distance.

ازین مسوی جیحون سواری تیراندازی نیکو ساخت تیری اندازد
آنها که آن تیر بر زمین افتد حد ایرانیان باشد و چردو ملک برین
عهد بستند و صلحناصر بنوشقند پس آرش را اختیار کردند و آرش
مردی بود که از وی تیرانداز تر نبود، بو تای شد که در ان حدود
ازان بلندتر کوهی نیست و تیری را نشان کردند و بیداراخت برلب
جیحون بر زمین آمد و آن چیزی خدابی و افرا سیاب ازان عمگین شد
که چندان پادشاهی بمنو چهر بایست دادن

Translation.—A horseman, who may be a good archer, may throw a strong arrow from this side of the Jehoun, and that place, where the arrow falls, may form the boundary of the Iranians. Both the kings bound themselves in this agreement and wrote a treaty. Then they chose Åresh. Åresh was a man than whom there was no better archer. He went over a hill, than which there was no higher mountain in that region. They made a mark over the arrow and he (then) threw it; and it fell on the ground on the bank of the J'houn (Oxus). It was a divine thing (*i.e.*, a miracle) and Afrâsiâb became sorry, as he had to give up the sovereignty of that much country to Minocheher.³

¹ One must understand, that the names Elburs and Demavand were, at times, used for a very long range of mountains in Persia.

² Ousley also refers to the story from Tabari. Ousley's Travels in Persia, Vol. III, pp. 300, 333.

³ Munchi Naval Kishore's Text of 1874, p. 115 l. 24 et seq.

Mirkhond also refers to this feat in his *Rauz-at-us-Safa* on the authority of *Târikh Maogân*. We read there as follows:

مشروط بر آنکه آرش از سر کوه دماوند تیری اندازد بر جا که آن
تیر فرود آید فاصله میان دو مملکت آن محل بود و آرش بر قله
جبل دماوند رفته و تیری به جانب مشرق افگنده از شست را کرد و آن
تیر از وقت طلوع آفتاب تا نیمروز در حرکت بود و بهنگام استوا بو کنار
جیهون افداد. چند این صورت از عقل بعد است اما چون مفون
اخبار بدهین خبر ناطق بود شب گشت

Translation.—“It was stipulated, that Årîsh should ascend Mount Damâvend, and from thence discharge an arrow towards the east ; and that the place in which the arrow fell should form the boundary between the two kingdoms. Årîsh thereupon ascended the mountain, and discharged towards the east an arrow, the flight of which continued from the dawn of day until noon, when it fell on the banks of the Jihûn. As this incident, though so remote from probability, has been invariably recorded in the text of all historians, it is therefore mentioned here ”.¹

This extraordinary marvellous feat of archery has been attempted to be explained in various ways. Ousley thus speaks on the subject : “ As that golden arrow, of such classical celebrity, which wafted Abaris through the air, has been the subject of much learned conjectural explanation, so we find that some have attributed the exploit of Åresh to magick, or to the assistance of an angel ; whilst other ingenious commentators divest the story of its most marvellous circumstances and suppose the arrow to express figuratively, that the Persians invaded and by their skill in archery, obtained possession of the enemy’s country ; that Åresh was the successful general ; that he determined the boundaries ; and that by the magick characters inscribed on his wonderful arrow, nothing more is understood than the written orders which he dispatched with the utmost expedition to the farthest borders of Persia. Others, however, are willing to interpret the story more literally ; and on the authority of different chronicles, Dowlet Shah informs us that the arrow was so contrived as to contain a chymical (chemical) mixture of quicksilver and other substances, which, when heated by the sun, augmented the original force of projection in such a manner that it reached to Marv.”²

¹ Naval Kishore’s Text of Mirkhond’s *Rauz-at-us-Safa*, Vol. I, p. 166 & 18.

² History of the Early Kings of Persia, translated from the original Persian of Mirkhond, by David Shea (1832), p. 175.

³ Ousley’s Travels in Persia, Vol. III, pp. 333-34.

Ousley speaks of "that golden arrow of such classical celebrity which wafted Abaris through the air." We learn as follows of this Abaris : "Abaris, son of Southas, was a Hyperboleian priest of Apollo and came from the country about the Caucasus to Greece, while his own country was visited by a plague. In his travels through Greece, he carried with him an arrow as the symbol of Apollo. . . . He is said to have ridden on his arrow, the gift of Apollo, through the air".¹ May I suggest, that this classical Abaris is the same as Iranian Arish? (a) The similarity of name suggests this thought. (b) Again Abaris (Aris) is said to have come to Greece from the country about the Caucasus. Now, the Mount Damavend in the Iranian story is a peak of the Elburz, which itself is a mountain in the range of the Caucasus. (c) Dr. James MacDonald, in his article on Druidism,² speaks of Abaris "the mysterious Hyperboleian philosopher" as the friend of Pythagoras. According to him, Pythagoras was instructed by the Druids who are spoken of as "a class of priests corresponding to the Magi or the wise men of the ancient Persians." The learning of Pythagoras, is, by some, connected with Persia and Persian sages. So, this also suggests the connection of the classical Abaris with the Iranian Arish.

The improbability of the story seems to be fortunately well explained to some extent by Tabari. He says : "Some persons maintain, that this arrow, by virtue of the good fortune of Minucheher, happened to strike a vulture in the air, and that this bird fell and died on the banks of the Jehoun; that they afterwards found the arrow and carried it to Tabaristan".³ Another way in which the improbability is sought to be explained is, that, by mistake, one place is mistaken for another bearing the same name. As we will see later on, the particular place whence this arrow was thrown, was according to some writers, Amel or Amoul. Now, there are two Amouls, one in the Transoxania near the river Jehoun, another in the west. The arrow was possibly thrown from the Transoxanian Amoul which was latterly mistaken to be the western Amoul, thus creating a cause for improbability.⁴

The Arish mentioned in the works of the above Arab oriental writers is the Erekhs of the Avesta. The Parsis observe a festival called the Jashan-i-Tirangān or Tirangān, on Tir the thirteenth day of their month Tir. The word Tir, in the names of the day, the month and the festival, means an arrow in

¹ Dr. Smith's Classical Dictionary.

² Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. VII. p. 478.

³ I translate from the French translation of Zetenberg I., p. 280. Naval Keshore's Text does not give this portion. ⁴ Vide Ousley's Travels, vol. III. pp. 333-34.

Pahlavi, Pazend and Persian. The *Farhang-i-Jehangiri*, as pointed out by Ousley,¹ says, that the festival was meant to commemorate the above feat of the arrow by the Persian archer. According to Albiruni, the festival was celebrated for two reasons. One of these was for the celebration of the above extraordinary feat. He says as follows :

" On the 13th, or *Tir-Rôz*, there is a feast *Tiragân*, so called on account of the identity of the name of the month and the day. Of the two causes to which it is traced back, one is this, that Afrâsiâb, after having subdued Erânshahr, and while besieging Minâcihr in Tabaristân, asked him some favour. Minâcihr complied with his wish, on the condition that he (Afrâsiâb) should restore to him a part of Erânshahr as long and as broad as an arrow-shot. On that occasion there was a genius present called *Isfandarmadh* ; he ordered to be brought a bow and an arrow of such a size as he himself had indicated to the arrow-maker, in conformity with that which is manifest in the *Avestâ*. Then he sent for *Ârîsh*, a noble, pious, and wise man, and ordered him to take the bow and to shoot the arrow. *Ârîsh* stepped forward, took off his clothes, and said : ' O King, and ye others, look at my body. I am free from any wound or disease. I know that when I shoot with this bow and arrow I shall fall to pieces and my life will be gone, but I have determined to sacrifice it for you.' Then he applied himself to the work, and bent the bow with all the power God had given him ; then he shot, and fell asunder into pieces. By order of God the wind bore the arrow away from the mountain of *Rûyân* and brought it to the utmost frontier of *Khurâsân* between *Farghâna* and *Tabaristân* ; there it hit the trunk of a nut-tree that was so large that there had never been a tree like it in the world. The distance between the place where the arrow was shot and that where it fell was 1,000 *Farsakh*. Afrâsiâb and Minâcihr made a treaty on the basis of this shot that was shot on this day. In consequence people made it a feast-day ".²

In a Persian book giving an account of the ancient Iranian feasts,³ wherein this feast of *Tirangân* is referred to, the feat of the above archer is thus spoken of :

از آن خواسته آرشا کمانگیر
که از آمول نمودند انداخت او تیر

¹ Vol. III p. 238.

² "The Chronology of Ancient Nations" of Albiruni translated by Dr. C. E. Sachau (1879) p. 205.

³ Vide my lecture on "Zoroastrian Festivals," in my Gujarati "Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects," Part III, p. 138.

The above story, as given in this Persian book, runs as follows " This Jashan is called ' Tîrgân-é-Mehin,¹ i.e., the great Tîrgân Jashan. This Jashan falls on the day Tir of the month Tir. It was on this day that King Manucheher made peace with the Turâanian King Afrâsiâb, on condition, that Afrâsiâb should give up to Manucheher so much of his dominions as would cover the distance of a fast-flying arrow. Then ingenious persons made an arrow with great contrivance and it was put into the bow by Aresh standing on a mountain near Tabristan and thrown in the direction of the rising sun, the heat of which carried the arrow to the boundary line of Takhârestân. In the words of a poet ' Arish is called Kamân-Gir, i.e., a reputed archer, on this account, that he threw an arrow from Amel to Merv.' They say, that on this day (i.e., the Tîrgân Jashan), the country covered by the flight of that arrow was given to Manucheher, and the day was passed in revelry and rejoicing."²

According to this version of the story, the ingenuity consisted in the preparation of the arrow with such materials, as would be chemically acted upon by the heat of the rising sun.

اَرْش مِيَوَانِتِير (Arsh Miyavāntir) speaks of a Arish Shîvâtîr. Here Shîvâtîr is the Persian form of Shepâk-tir, which is the Pahlavi rendering of the word Khshviwi-ishu in the above Avesta passage of the Tir Yasht.³

In the Shâh-nâmeh of Firdousi, we often come across the words Tir-i Âreshi (تیر آرشی) i.e., the arrow of Aresh. This shows, that the names of Aresh (Av. Erekhsha) and his arrow have become proverbial. Among several uses of this kind, we have the following in the accounts of the battle which Arjâsp fought with Zarir. که سامین گرز است آن شی : ایست و تیر آرشی Here, Sam is referred to as the best mace-man and Aresh as the best archer. We find from Firdousi³ that Behram Chobin traced his descent from this great archer.

¹ Spiegel Memorial Volume, edited by me, pp. 206-7. Paper on "A few Parsee festivals (Jashans) according to an old Parsee manuscript," by Ervad Manekji Rustamji Unvala.

² Etudes Iranennes, par Darmesteter, Tome, II, pp. 220-21.

³ Mohl, small edition, VII, pp. 26 and 30.

ART. XI—Śaṅkarācārya and Kant: A Comparison.

Introductory Essay.

BY

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(Read 14th February 1918.)

The master-minds of Śaṅkarācārya and Kant have exercised a decisive influence on the history of human thought. They changed the course of philosophical evolution, the one as the overtopping figure of a great school, the other as the bold, more or less isolated revolutionist in philosophy. It is hard and at the same time idle to say who was the more powerful of the two; suffice it to remark that even now over thousand years after Śaṅkara's death the overwhelming majority of philosophers, theoretical and practical, in India profess Śaṅkara's tenets. This fact must not be underrated. At such a distance from the founder's time Buddhism had long been exiled from Bharatavarṣa; Vedānta, Śaṅkara's philosophy, on the other hand, if we read correctly the tendencies of the modern Indian mind, not only has a firm hold on the educated classes, but is, if anything, in the ascendancy. And yet the claim and the chance of Buddhism to last were at least as great as those of Śaṅkara's philosophy. Kant on the other hand marks the beginning of an epoch in philosophy which stands to its predecessors in about the same contrast as the astronomy of Copernicus to that before him. The breaking away from Aristotelian philosophy became complete, and it would sometimes seem final, with Kant. A great number of modern philosophers in the West are satisfied with interpreting Kant, and even where after him originality appeared it was short-lived and its influence was in no proportion to that of Kant. But however widely the teaching of modern philosophers may differ from that of Kant and from one another's: in that they are all alike that they make a definite stand against the traditional philosophy of the centuries before them.

It would, however, be utterly wrong to call Śaṅkara and Kant merely negative minds and to think their work to be only destructive. Both were rather more indirectly pulling down by constructing systems which ousted their predecessors. At the end of the first millennium of our era Śaṅkara's Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya, at any rate as far as the intellectual classes are concerned, sealed the doom of Vedic Brahmanism taught in Samhitās

and Brāhmaṇas and blocked alike the paths against a returning Buddhism ; at the end of the second millennium Kant tried to induce the West to abjure the allegiance to the philosophical past and was not at all angry when asked by many to occupy the place on the pedestal from which he had thrown Aristotle.

To fix the position of the two philosophers we have to consider the point from which they started, the way they took and finally the goal they reached. The starting point may be considered historically and philosophically. It will be advisable to consider the historical position first as it explains to a great extent the philosophical one. Kant, to begin with, is a modern philosopher. Modern philosophy is characterised by its emancipation from the *status pupillaris*, or the state of the *ancilla theologiae*, of the handmaid of theology. This philosophy was born from the spirit of the Renaissance, lived on the inheritance of the Middle Ages and was long beyond its infancy schooled by the geniuses and their works of the past. Turning away from ancient and medieval speculation it applied itself to research and the acquisition of positive knowledge. Nature and the laws of nature outside and the mind inside became alike its subject matter. It helped to fashion public and political views that were developed logically though often involuntarily out of the premises the Reformation had laid down. The ethical theses had to undergo a change often not less radical than the psychological and cosmological doctrines.

Modern philosophy may be sub-divided into :—(1) the time of resuscitated Platonism in the Renaissance and the more or less pronounced independence of thought. The Renaissance taught philosophy to find out and study above all the physical side of man and nature ; (2) the time of Empirism, Rationalism, the so-called Enlightenment in the period of the Encyclopædist, and Scepticism from Bacon and Descartes down to Hume. Extremes met during that period : alongside with a radical Rationalism there appeared Dogmatism which would stand no appeal, and Dogmatism had to live long enough to see a Scepticism that doubted everything. It would appear as if the breaking away from the inherited thought and method had divided the minds almost as much as the attempt at building a city and a tower the top whereof should reach heaven had divided the tongues. The Renaissance had offered the cup with the wine of liberty, the modern mind partook freely of it with a result not unlike a Russian democracy.

Aristotelianism and its most docile and loyal disciple, Scholasticism, had been based on a limited number of broad facts ; guided by the unbending laws of logic and goaded on by the

desire *sciendi per causas*, to know "in" the causes, both rose from the material, the seen, to the immaterial, the unseen. After the Renaissance men broke one seal of nature after the other that had hidden its truth and beauty from mortal eyes ; dazzled and bewildered by the light and wealth of this new thought some stuck in the matter and did not rise above it ; others not being able or unwilling to draw the last conclusions, that philosophy demands, from the new world of thought, dogmatically laid down their view with the mien and the emphasis of the ancient *αὐτὸς ἡφα*. Others again despaired of the instrument wherewith to find the truth and answered to all questions of a metaphysical nature : " We don't know and never shall know." Such were the times which preceded Kant and which he himself partly witnessed. With the originality and radicalism of an unbridled genius he dissociated himself in the main from the preceding systems to strike out a path which he thought to be the golden mean between Dogmatism and Scepticism. The human mind will and must philosophise, therefore it must be able to do so, therefore Scepticism is wrong ; many a thesis had been put forward based on mere tradition or even prejudice, hence either disputable or even false. Whole systems had gone astray, therefore the instrument of knowledge, human reason and intellect, must be examined and criticised. Thus is Kant's system, which is essentially criticism, historically to be explained.

What is Śaṅkara's historical position ? Śaṅkarācārya wrote the Commentary on the Brahmasūtras with a literary past of India before him which in all fairness cannot be said to be very much less than 3.000 years. To understand accurately to what extent Śaṅkara's philosophy may be called original and to what degree it is a product of the time we have to take a cursory glance at the evolution of the philosophic thought from the very beginning of Indian literary history. And as theology was in India too the mother and mistress of philosophy we must consider that kind of Indian literature which contains the theology, *viz.*, the Veda. What then is the road on which the Indian mind travelled in the millenniums between the Vedic R̄isis who composed hymns in honour of the Dawn and the Sun and, to say the least, one of the acutest, most consistent pantheistic philosophers the world has seen ? A certain stock of religious ideas are proved to be common to the whole Indo-Aryan group of nations. The eastermost peoples took those ideas with them when they debouched from the north-western passes into the fertile plains of the Panjab. There they lived, worked and worshipped as a pastoral nation, their peaceful existence being only disturbed by a steady tendency to push on to the South,

East and West, by frequent raids on their neighbours and consequent sanguinary encounters with those whom they had conquered or were to conquer. The elemental phenomena of nature and household were the objects of their worship. The Rgveda shows exactly that form of natural religion one would expect from a people with a few dim recollections of a universal divine revelation, from clans whose occupation is to tend and to breed cattle, from a nation that has to defend the soil encroached upon with the sword and is at the same time determined to find and get a place in the sun with sufficient elbow-room for large and over-increasing numbers of the populace and ample pasture for their cattle. The nation and its higher thoughts were equally unsophisticated and straightforward. The term and title "Arya" which this people claimed for itself was certainly not altogether undeserved. The nation's poets of this time handed down to posterity their inspirations in the Vedic Hymns, the Sūktāni or Good Sayings. For our purpose the Vedic hymns must be considered in their original shape and order or rather disorder, the present arrangement, often made on arithmetical and other artificial principles, is of a later date. In those hymns, especially in the older portions of the Rgveda, there is the naive invocation of the Vedic deity, preferentially of Indra, to protect and further some raid, or to be helpful in bringing in a rich booty of cattle and horses, and at the end there is the often not at all bashful reminder of the daksinā,—the fee for the singer.

The description of the Vedic God is as a rule not very concrete, nor sharply defined. The lines of the picture are often dimmed or blurred, consequently one individual of the Vedic pantheon may get mixed up with another and many deities show common traits. The supremacy is not the monopoly of one, but is attributed to a limited number of them in turns. The gods are born, but whether they are to die, the poets do not state in very clear or consistent terms. The ethical world is well-nigh left to take care of itself. Varuna is the chief if not the only guardian of it. But it is only fair to admit that he performs the functions of his part with unbending justice. The moral notions were naturally primitive enough, and these notions, few though not impotent as they were, received scanty attention at the hands of those indefatigable systematisers who afterwards minutely determined the material of the ladle used for the sacrificial libation and the number of bricks to be built into the altar.

The Vedic mythology is based on the belief that all the objects, phenomena and agencies of the macrocosm are in the

first place representing the deity and then are divine themselves. This may be one of the reasons why the Vedic gods do not bear such clear human traits as the Hellenic celestials. But even as far as it went, the anthropomorphism of the Vedic pantheon remained rather crude if compared with the artistic touch and finish of the inhabitants of the Greek Olympus. Besides the phenomena of nature everything that could be helpful or baneful to mortals was drawn into the circle of worship. Thus the sacrificial post, for instance, became not less an object of worship than the plough and the war-car.

As early as the time when the later parts of the *Rgveda Samhitā* were composed the evolution of the philosophic thought began to bifurcate. Indians would not have been Indians if the innate tendency towards philosophical speculation had not asserted itself at that stage of civilisation which the *Rgveda* represents. Nor could a philosophic mind be satisfied with the answer the *Rgveda* gave to paramount questions about the microcosm as well as the macrocosm. The crust laid by the poets on philosophic notions and truths began to be suspected; nay, the authority of a divine revelation claimed by the *Veda* was gradually doubted by many. It was natural, though at the time it must have seemed the worst of blasphemies, that just the existence and position of Indra, the general over-lord of the Indian Olympus, was assailed by Scepticism. The Rṣi Gr̥tsamada extols Indra's mighty deeds in heaven, on the earth and under the earth. The poet credits the god with the cosmic arrangement and order as well as with the patronage of the Aryan race. And yet the devout Rṣi had to record the doubt of many.

यं स्मा पृच्छन्ति कुहू सेति घोरमुतेमाहुर्नैषो अस्तीत्येनं ।
सो अर्थः पुष्टीर्विजं इवामिनाति श्रद्धस्मै धन् स जनास इंद्रः ॥

Rgveda II. 12. 5.

Fourteen times does the refrain स जनास इंद्रः occur, showing that the singer was fully aware of the danger Indra was threatened with, and that he had the burden of his sermon very much at heart. In *Rgveda* VIII. 100. 3 an order to sing a hymn in honour of Indra is given, if he actually exists.

प्र सु स्तोमं भरत वाज्यंत इद्राय सुस्यं यदि सुस्यमस्ति ।
नेंद्रो अस्तीति नेम उ स्व आहु क इंद्र ददर्श कमुभि इकाम ॥

To dispel the doubt Indra is introduced in person by the poet :—

अयमस्मि जरितः पश्य मे ह विद्वा ज्ञातान्यभ्यस्मि मुक्ता ।

ऋतस्य मा प्रदिशो वर्धयन्त्यादर्दिरो भुवना दर्दरीमि ॥

From the doubt about Indra's existence and position the doubt about the many gods, or in other words, the question about the truth of polytheism was the logical sequel. The doubt about the usefulness of the Vedic sacrifice and worship followed now as a matter of course. This frame of mind among the intellectuals of the time found expression in Rgveda X. 121, which makes the creator and father of beings, Prajāpati, whoever he may be, the supreme lord of everything, the whole pantheon included. The refrain :—

कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥

to which god shall we offer up oblations ?—occurring there nine times is implicitly answered in favour of Prajāpati. Though Sāyaṇa, the great medieval commentator of the Vedas, does apparently not realise the touch of Scepticism in the refrain as he boldly identifies Kāḥ with Prajāpati, yet even in his view it is clear that Indra's position was more than shaken. Perhaps the deepest philosophical hymn of the whole Rgveda Saṁhitā opens thus :—

न सदासुन्ना सदासीन्दानीं नासीद्वज्ञो नो व्योमा पुरो यत् ।

किमावरीवः कुहु कस्य शर्मेन्नंभः किमासीद्वहनं गभीरं ॥ १ ॥

न मृत्युं जीत्यृत्युं न तहि न रात्या अहं आसीत्पक्तेः ।

आनीदवातं स्वधया तदेकं तु स्माद्गान्यन्न पुरः किं चनासे ॥ २ ॥

X. 129. 1—2.

This is a description of the state of things before the creation. The transition from the not-being to the being is but obscurely described in terms of cosmological mysticism. Whether the singer had not the courage of his conviction or was lacking in original thought, he winds up the hymn in a sceptical strain :—

को अद्वा वेद क डुह प्र वोचुस्कुत आजाता कुत इयं विसृष्टिः ।

भुवान्देवा अस्य विसर्जनेनाथा को वेद यत आवभूव ॥

इयं विसुष्टिर्यत आवभूत यदि वा दृष्टे यदि वा न ।
यो अस्याग्रक्षः परमे व्योमन्त्सो अग्नं वैद यदि वा न वेद ॥

6, 7.

True, the creator appears still as a personal being, as Brahmaṇaspati, Br̥haspati, Viśvakarman, but the pantheistic seed had been sown as well; besides R̥gveda X. 129 we have 1. 164. 46:—

इदै मित्रं वरणमग्निमाहुरथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो ग्रहस्मान् ।
एकं सदिप्ता बहुधा वदत्यग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहः ।

This is after the classical तस्मसि, that art thou, Āṇdogya Upaniṣad 6. 8-16, the clearest and most decided profession of Pantheism in ancient India. It seemed but a step from here to the full development of the pantheistic philosophy in a school and its propagation among the progressive intellectuals of the country. Yet many a weary mile had to be travelled partly in altogether uncongenial and apathetic if not hostile company before Pantheism could hope to find that following which was accorded to Śaṅkarācārya.

One should expect that the evolution of philosophical thought foreshadowed if not actually started in the R̥gveda should have gone on in a regular, steady course and gained in momentum as time went on. But the second great class of Śruti writings, the Br̥ahmaṇas, prove rather the contrary and seem to confirm the general observation made in the history of philosophy that the line of development of philosophical ideas is, though generally rising, indented by descending, or at least broken by horizontal, sections. In fact one of the bifurcation lines, the one described above and boldly struck out in the Vedic times seems to have been almost abandoned for the other, the more conservative one. The sacrificial ritual based upon the old Vedic Polytheism at any rate is seen to have developed to such an extent in the Br̥ahmaṇas that not only is there hardly any clear trace of philosophical development, worth the name, visible, but philosophical property has been confiscated and utilised in the exegesis of sacrifices and rites. From the scantiness of literary documents we are not yet entitled to the conclusion that no philosophical head was living and thinking during the whole Br̥ahmaṇa period which lasted for several centuries; nor can we safely affirm that no progress was made and no evolution took place: it only proves that the predominating Brahmanical class did not record this philosophical

development. For the Brāhmaṇas rank very low indeed as philosophical sources. Granted even that we are not able to realise the full meaning of these texts as rituals and exegetical treatises, which after all form the key to the symbolism of the Vedic sacrifice ; their philosophical value is lowered by their containing too much symbolism which even engrosses on, and spoils, such terms as ātman, and by too little clear, sharp reasoning. The Brāhmaṇas however, as they stand, contain phrases enough which isolated from their ritualistic surroundings let us guess that the current of philosophic thought was moving though perhaps rather comparable to a subterranean river than the broad open stream of the officially sacred Gaṅgā.

Expressions of this kind are for instance प्रजापतिर्वद्दमप्रदाआसीत् Satapathabrahmaṇa, 11.5.8.1 ; ब्रह्म वा दद्दमप्रदाआसीत् 1.c. 11.2.3.1 ; आसीवेदमप्रदाआसीत् 1.c. 14.4.2.1. Roughly speaking they represent the great main road which leads from the Saṁhitā period over to the Upaniṣads.

The philosophical speculation appearing like Uṣas, the dawn of a new day of thought, shortly after the beginning of the Vedic literature, might be reduced to a fire glowing under the embers, but it never died out entirely. Proof of this is the fact that very important Upaniṣads, the philosophical texts par excellence, were considered as integral parts of Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas. Thus the Isā Upaniṣad is contained in the 40th adhyāya of the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad forms the conclusion of the Satapathabrahmaṇa. Now it needs no special proof beyond a critical reading that most of the Upaniṣads are made up of matter of different ages ; and as just the most philosophical portions of them can claim a high, in some cases even a higher antiquity than the rest, it is without doubt that philosophical thought was not altogether smothered under the wild growth of ritualistic literature during that period. And though the writers and redactors of the Brāhmaṇas either for practical purposes or, and chiefly, because of the difference of tendency, assigned a subordinate position to the philosophical productions of the age ; yet they did not dare to discard them altogether or refuse them the admission into the Śruti. For these productions often enough appeared labelled with weighty names and seemed to contain ideas which it was well to treasure if not to preach.

The third great class of the Śruti writings are the Āraṇyakas, Forest Books, which are texts to be studied by the Indian hermit, the Vānaprastha, in the woods. Though some of these texts

are but sections in the middle of the Brāhmaṇas and others form appendices of varying length to them, yet the contents of the Āranyakas, evince practically the same preponderance of theological philosophy over sacrificial ritualism which was given to the latter over the former in the Brāhmaṇas. The important point is that philosophy is gradually working its way to the foreground. The sacrifice remained indeed a central idea ; the sacred word and prayer was considered the highest principle as Brahman, and it was held to be the source of all being. But the writers accepted as well the theory of the ātman, the interior self, and amalgamated the new with the old teaching. The philosophy of the ātman which had, it seems, been first taught outside Brahmanical circles, bid once fair to become a formidable rival to the rigid and costly ritual. The same latitudinarianism which stood Brahmanism in such good stead against Buddhism did not hesitate to accept a new tendency that somehow or other could be made to look like a progress on the old lines. It was in the eyes of the authors and compilers of the later parts of the Śruti decidedly a lesser evil to twist the old tendency than to have that philosophy as a foe which in the end promised Mokṣa, Redemption, without sacrifice. It was easier to turn round than to be annihilated. A concession was made to the new doctrine by admitting it into the precincts of the Vedic sacred literature, the " canon "; and another concession was granted to the old tendency by reserving the new-comer, the philosophy, to the Saṁnyāsa, the highest and last stage of the Vedic life-periods or Āśramas. In this way perhaps the great majority of Hindus were precluded from the new doctrine. Thus Brahmanism was able to save the appearance of traditional orthodoxy and at the same time to adopt progressive views.

The progressive views were clearest laid down in the Upaniṣads, the fourth principal class of Śruti literature. They mark a distinct stage of development which to a certain extent remained even final. Upaniṣad, originally signifying the secret session, gradually came to mean the secret teaching, whence रहस्यम्, the (doctrinal) secret, and Upaniṣad are used synonymously. How thorough the amalgamation between the traditional and the new views was made is clear from the fact that again not less than about half a dozen of the most important Upaniṣads were either embodied in, or appended to, the Āranyakas. Thus the external relation of the Upaniṣads to the Āranyakas is in fair keeping with the relation of the contents. The Cāndogya Upaniṣad in its turn contains in the first two prapāṭhakas symbolical explanations of the Sāman and its

principal part, the *Udgitha*, matter usually referred to Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas. Even the external form of the older and most important *Upaniṣads* betrays the care to bridge over the gap between the traditional doctrine and the new teaching. It is not the last time in literary, religious and philosophical history that an old outside helped to cover up innovations in the contents. These older *Upaniṣads* are written in a simple, sometimes awkward prose. The prose *Upaniṣads* together with eight others written in verse must be considered as the source and repository of the *Upaniṣad* teaching; they are distinctly marked off from the rest.

It would be entirely in vain to look in the *Upaniṣads* for accurate definitions, logical divisions and proofs. The style of these works is as far distant from that of Kant's *Critique* as it is from that of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* or Plato's *Dialogues*. Let it be admitted that perhaps the shortest and most accurate formula of Pantheism ever put forward is found in the तत्त्वमसि (U. 6.8.7.); but the same *Upaniṣad* was as little able as others to shake off resolutely the inherited encumbrance of uncontrollable mysticism and dreamlike symbolism. From this it follows that it would be out of place to speak of "the Philosophy of the *Upaniṣads*" or worse still of "a System of the *Upaniṣads*," in the same sense as we speak of the Philosophy or the System of Aristotle. We might just as well patch a manual of the rites of Welsh Druids together with Berkeley's "Treatise on the Principles of Human Knowledge," and style it Berkeley's Philosophy or System. The Indian philosophical literature is in its development not unlike that of the epic poetry. A comparatively simple subject that according to all rules of art could have been worked out in a poem of the size of the *Odyssey* grew into the gigantic dimensions of the *Mahābhārata*. It was only gradually that the creative genius was satisfied with a smaller number of miles of *slokas* and finally settled down to the classical works of the *Kirātārjunīya* and the *Raghuvamśa*. Thus the broad stream of developing philosophical thought poured into the literature, but its clear water was disturbed by all sorts of alluvial drift and silt, carried down from the times of *Samhitā* mythology, Brāhmaṇa hair-splitting, Āraṇyaka "theology".

The *Upaniṣads* which fairly well represent the philosophical views of their times are called *Vedānta*, End of the *Veda*. This name is justified in more than one way. First, the *Upaniṣads* are chronologically the end of the *Śruti*, thus they are fitly put at the end of the Vedic "canon". The sacred flame of the

revelation, it was held, descended in the hoary past on Viśvāmitra, Grtsamada, Vasistha and their congeners in the plains of the Panjab, once more and for the last time it flared up in the teaching of Sanatkumāra, the highest representative of the Kṣatriyas who instructs Nārada, the very embodiment of Brahmanism. A spark of this flame, it was believed, is to be found in the conversation of Yājñavalkya with his philosophical wife Maitreyī; and the beggar Raikva, who sitting under his cart scraped off the scab of leprosy, had likewise become the mouthpiece of the supernatural. The teaching of the Upaniṣads then, being revealed, was as sacred as the most ancient hymns of the Rgvedasamhitā. As a matter of fact the quotations adduced by later philosophers in support of their views are overwhelmingly taken from the Upaniṣads. This sacredness coupled with the necessity of imparting the new knowledge warily and the greater difficulties of grasping the contents put the Upaniṣad lectures at the end of the ancient Indian curriculum. In the séances of the advanced Guru and the eager Śiṣya, these mysteries, first only whispered into the ears of ripe and trustworthy hearers, were made the concluding part of the syllabus. The historical position of the Upaniṣads was even reflected in religious recitations where they always came last, and it was recognised by the Upaniṣads themselves which actually call themselves Vedānta, claiming thus equal rank with the former strata of the Śruti and at the same time giving precedence to them from the chronological point of view. That the Upaniṣads rose in the estimation of later systematic writers was quite natural, as they could freely draw on these texts for proofs, the other classes of Śruti, the Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Āranyakas, being not rarely opposed to them. Thus the Upaniṣads came in course of time to be considered as the aim of the Veda, the *causa finalis*. All the revelation of olden times and the interpretation of the preceding centuries had been only the preparation for—the new thought. By far the greater part of the sacred literature was made the avenue leading up to the sanctuary of the philosophic truth. Philosophy, once the humble handmaid of theology, had ascended the throne in the temple shrine. Theology left outside was deemed just good enough to carry the bricks for the temple building and show the way to the sanctuary.

It was pointed out above that there is no philosophy or system of the Upaniṣads in the sense of, say, Hume's philosophy. And if Śaṅkara's philosophy and the Upaniṣads with their doctrines go by the same name and both are called Vedānta, then this must be explained more on historical than philosophical

grounds. Beyond a considerable number of fundamental doctrines and the name, Saṅkara and the Upaniṣads have rather little in common. It seems in fact on the face of it impossible that a collection of several dozens of texts, originating at different times and places, written by different authors on different suppositions and with different aims should be able to represent a philosophical system that could vie with any pantheistic philosophy in history. Or is it possible that some architect in Bombay, another in Calcutta, a third in Madras, one in the 12th, the other in the 15th, the third in the 20th century, one an expert in the Moghul, the other in the Gothic, the third in the Romanesque style, should independently work out their plans, send without agreement their masons to the same spot in Delhi and contrive to erect a structure of the unity and beauty of the Divan-i-Am or the Divan-i-Khas? No serious man would assert that. As great in fact as, if not greater than, the external discrepancies in the Upaniṣads are the differences of teaching. They depict God with all the imagery of an Indian poet as some concrete, palpable, personal being, on the other hand he cannot, according to them, be found out even by the mind's eye. If it is asserted that the world's existence is due to creation by the supreme principle, and therefore real, it is affirmed just as clearly that the whole universe is nothing but Māyā, Illusion. Samsāra, metempsychosis, is put forward with an undeniable emphasis, implying the personality of the human soul, the jīva, and yet this same migration of the soul is said to belong to the universal māyā and the only true existence of the jīva is taught to consist in the identity with God.

The heterogeneous nature of the Upaniṣads may have been one reason why these texts were brought together in one collection only very late. This collection had never that binding force which the Rgvedasamhitā had for all times after it was introduced. It remained an external frame large enough to shove in new pieces if they looked somewhat like the older ones. Thus the whole enjoyed an unquestioned authority, but every philosopher who utilised the Upaniṣads for his special purposes could follow an eclectic method, giving preponderance to those passages and texts that were in his favour. This accounts for the fact that the "canon" of the Upaniṣads never was definitely settled and as a matter of fact cannot be said to be closed even to this day. But in spite of the elasticity of the Upaniṣad "canon" and the heterogeneous nature of its contents, it cannot reasonably be doubted that pantheism stood the best chance to find a basis in this "Vedānta," and thus with great semblance of right to lay claim to that ortho-

doxy the reputation of which few of the boldest thinkers ever cared to lose in India. The first known attempt at systematising the disconnected tenets of the *Upaniṣads* was made by Bādarāyaṇa in his *Brahma-sūtras*. They are like other sūtras short enough to keep the full meaning hidden from the uninitiated, profane eye, and long enough to fix and preserve the teaching to be handed down by oral tradition from one generation of gurus to the next. About Bādarāyaṇa's time, place and person we know very little.

At this point Śaṅkara's work begins. A pantheistic system, developed in the course of more than a millennium out of polytheism, more than holding its own in the keen competition with rival systems, taught and propagated in the traditional school fashion of ancient India, but still wanting a great, towering personality as interpreter and exponent: this Śaṅkarācārya found. The interpretation, exposition, the systematising not without refashioning, and above all the popularisation of the inherited system: this was to become his work. He was born towards the end of the eighth century of our era. To judge from the fact that of all the commentaries on Bādarāyaṇa's *Brahma-sūtras* that were possibly written before Śaṅkara none attained to the authority of his, he was fully up to his task. Among his own numerous writings, mostly commentaries on the *Upaniṣads*, partly actually his, partly only attributed to him, the Commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras* easily takes the first place. Śaṅkara puts clearly his thesis, with a consistency and subtlety that recall the times of Aristotle and Scholasticism he follows up the consequences to the last lost corner. There is nothing in heaven and hell and between them to which he is not able to apply his doctrine. As far as the nature of his work, the arrangement of which was given by the sūtras, allows, he is methodical in dividing the matter; without great difficulty we can gather from the *Sārīrakabhbhāṣya*, as the commentary is called, the philosopher's view on God, Man and the Universe. The great leading thoughts run now open, now hidden but always perceptible through his theology, psychology and cosmology. Nothing is suffered to stand in his way; Śruti texts he handles with a dexterity that makes his success sure. Śaṅkara is a terrible dialectician, the adversary is so cornered, caught, collared and jostled about that all his *Prāṇas* get mixed up, if they do not prefer for very shame to leave such a worsted opponent altogether. And as Śaṅkara was as true an Indian philosopher as ever lived, and since Mokṣa, Redemption, is the one great goal of all the philosophies in Bharatavarṣa, his eschatology is as perfect as may be expected

from him and his system. Śaṅkara brought the Vedānta as it was fashioned by him from the school into the nation and its life ; and his Vedānta was able to stand the wear and the tear of the centuries. Whatever may be said against it, this must be said for it, it preserved thousands of truth-seeking men from falling into worse errors. Undoubtedly Mādhaba voices the common consent when at the end of his Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha he says : इतः (योगत्) परं सर्वदर्शनशिरोमणिभूतशाङ्करदर्शनमन्यत्र लिङ्गित नित्यवैषेणितम्

This, then, may be said to be the historical position of Śaṅkara and Kant : Śaṅkara stands at the end of an organic evolution, his doctrine is the height of Indian Pantheism ; Kant in his specific teaching has broken with the past, he stands for Criticism. How this historical position influenced their respective philosophies of that anon.

*The Rock-cut Elephant from Gharapuri:
A letter from Sir George Birdwood.*

The following letter from the late Sir George Birdwood to Mr. C. D. Mahaluxmivala is of much historical importance, throwing light as it does on the history of the rock-cut Elephant from Gharapuri which gave the name "Elephanta" to that Island and which now stands in the Victoria Gardens. The credit of first bringing the letter to the notice of the public is due to Mr. Rustumji Nasarwanji Munshi, a member of the Society interested in antiquarian and research work. He did this in a communication to the Times of India of 14th July 1917. Being anxious that the history of the Elephant's removal to Bombay should not lie buried in the correspondence files of the Victoria Gardens Office, Mr. Munshi requested me to print Sir George Birdwood's letter in the Society's Journal and I have much pleasure with the sanction of the Committee of Management in doing so.

I have to thank Mr. Jamshed M. Doctor the present Superintendent of the Gardens for providing me with a copy of the letter and for allowing me to publish it in the Journal.

THE EDITOR.

5, WINDSOR ROAD,
EALING, NEAR LONDON, W.
Friday, 11th September, 1914.

To

C. D. MAHALUXMIVALA, ESQR.,
SUPERINTENDENT,
MUNICIPAL GARDENS.

MY DEAR SIR,

In reply to your welcome letter of 20th July last, I have the pleasure of being able to tell you the whole story of broken up "Elephant" the fragments of which are heaped up near the entrance to the Victoria Gardens, on the Parel Road, in front of the Victoria Museum.

It originally stood in front of the Elephanta rock-cut temples ; and gave among Europeans the name of Elephanta to the same island known to the Hindus by the name of the village of Ghara-

puri,—“the place of purification,” built there for the accommodation of the priests in the service of the temples, and the pilgrims visiting them; in earlier times Buddhists, and in later—from about A. D. 900-1000—Hindus. From my earliest visits to the island, 1854-5, and from 1857 onward, the “Elephant” was a heap of huddled blocks of stone with very little of it in any way intact, except the fallen head, and the semblance of a tiger, on a fragment of what seemed the back of the “Elephant.” It had probably been damaged by the first Portuguese visitors to Bombay Harbour; who, it is known, bombarded the rock-temples of Elephanta rather severely. Sometime about 1864 the Government of Bombay entrusted the conservation of the caves to an official of the Public Works Department, an Engineer with whom, as with engineers universally “Nothing is sacred,” who forthwith proposed to clear out this profoundly interesting heap of stones, and break them up into road metal. Fortunately hearing of this in time, and still more fortunately having in Mr. William Edward Frere B.C.S. and Member of Council, Bombay, a strong friend I had, in spite of the Engineer referred to, the fragments of the Elephant all removed, under my own eye to Bombay and set up as well as I was able to manage it, in the Victoria Gardens.

I am surprised—and a little pained—that the story of this rescuing has been forgotten in Bombay; for I had to pay bitterly for it in unpopularity in certain influential quarters.

As soon as you get this go to the Royal Asiatic Society’s Rooms and in the book case containing the volumes of “The Bombay Literary Society” you will find the whole story of the caves of Elephanta and this “Elephant.” In MacLean’s Guide to Bombay you should also find something said of my salvation of its “broken bones”; and you must see to it that henceforth they rest in place exactly where I placed them. I would not in any way restore the figure of the “Elephant”; but I put earth in between the more broken and corroded stones; in which I planted the most notable flowering plants sacred to Shiva,—forming thus a very brilliant “rockery.”

So far as it goes, you may rely on the correctness of all this. I only wish I could give you more, and further details; but I have no access to books here; and I cannot go up to the British Museum, or Royal Asiatic Society, or India Office, owing to the great weakness of my legs; and I can’t venture on minute detail owing to the great loss of memory from which I now suffer.

Never hesitate to write to me ; I am always interested in such enquiries ; and still more in hearing from any Indian gentleman who takes a lively pride in the ancient glories that contribute so worthily to the renown of India throughout the civilized world ; and which make India for Europeans a truly enchanted land.

With every consideration, I remain dear Mr. Mahaluxmivala,

Yours most truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

P.S.—I could have answered you a week or two weeks before but my bodily exhaustion has been extreme through all the now passing summer.

Sd. Gho. B.

Proceeding of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, 1917-18 and a list of presents to the Library, 1917.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday the 27th March 1917.

In the absence of the President, Rev. Dr. R. Scott, M. A., was in the Chair.

There were also present :—Messrs. H. R. H. Wilkinson, J. E. Aspinwall, K. Natarajan, J. A. Saldanha, Kubalaya Raj, V. P. Vaidya, J. S. Sansgiri, P. V. Kane, B. V. Rao, E. M. Ezekiel, Prof. P. A. Wadia, Dr. J. J. Modi, Hon. Dr. D. A. DeMonte, Rev. Dr. B. DeMonte, Dr. P. N. Daruwalla, Rev. Fr. R. Zimmermann and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Hon. Secretary.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Hon. Secretary read the following report :—

The Annual Report for 1916.

MEMBERS.

Resident :—60 new members were elected during the year under report and 7 Non-Resident members having come to Bombay were transferred to the Resident list. 31 resigned, 7 died, and 9 having left Bombay were put on the Non-Resident list. This leaves 326 on the Roll at the close of 1916, as against 306 at the close of 1915.

Non-Resident :—14 new members joined under this class and 9 Resident members having left Bombay were transferred to the list of Non-Resident members. 15 resigned, 3 died, and 7 having come to Bombay were put on the Resident list. The number at the end of the year is 154, the number at the end of the preceding year being 156.

OBITUARY.

The Society records with regret the death of the following members.

ABSTRACT OF THE SOCIETY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Resident.

The Hon. Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, B.A., LL.B.
Mr. J. E. Modi, Bar-at-Law.
,, P. M. Vinekar, B. A., LL. B.
Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar.
,, O. V. Muller.
,, S. M. Isfahani.
Dr. A. J. Chandlia.

Non-Resident.

Sir Chinubhai M. Runchorlal, Bart.
Rao Bahadur N. T. Vaidya.
Capt. J. G. Willoughby.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The following papers were read before the Society during the year :—

- I. Anquetil Du Perron of Paris and Dastur Darab of Surat. By Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph. D.—7th February.
- II. Dr. Spooner's recent Archaeological Excavations at Pataliputra and the Question of the Influence of ancient Persia upon India. By Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph. D.—3rd March.
- III. A Note of Correction for the Persian Inscription of the Mogul times (Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXIV pp. 137-161). By Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B. A., Ph. D.—30th March.
- IV. Some Reference to Zoroastrian Scriptures in Arab authors. By G. K. Nariman.—29th June.
- V. The Early History of the Huns; their Inroads into India and Persia. By Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B. A., Ph. D.— 28th August.

LIBRARY.

The issues of books during the year were 47,858 volumes—29,877 of New books including periodicals, and 17,981 of Old books. The daily average, excluding Sundays, holidays and the first week of December, was 161. The total number of issues in the previous year was 49,062.

A detailed statement of monthly issues is given below.

MONTHLY ISSUES.

			New books	Old books
January	..	..	2,514	1,453
February	..	..	2,290	1,292
March	..	..	2,438	1,349
April	..	..	2,084	1,376
May	..	..	2,629	1,521
June	..	..	2,613	1,526
July	..	..	2,693	1,570
August	..	..	2,813	1,723
September	..	..	2,609	1,708
October	..	..	2,845	1,452
November	..	..	2,427	1,315
December	..	..	1,922	1,696

The issues of books under several classes were as under :—

Fiction	..	..	..	17,610
Biography	..	..	..	1,762
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	1,749
History	..	..	..	1,417
Travels and Topography	..	..	..	1,333
Politics, Sociology, Economics	..	..	..	1,326
Oriental Literature	..	..	..	932
Naval and Military	..	..	..	893
Poetry and Drama	..	..	..	799
Reviews, Magazines (Bound volumes)	..	..	..	635
Religion	..	..	..	420
Archaeology, Folklore, Anthropology	..	..	..	398
Philosophy	..	..	..	334
Literary History and Criticism	..	..	..	322
Natural History, Geology, &c.	..	..	..	300
Art, Architecture, Music	..	..	..	263
Foreign Literature	..	..	..	218
Classics	..	..	..	217
Logic, Works relating to Education	..	..	..	214
Government Reports and Public Records.	..	..	..	204
Grammars, Dictionaries	..	..	..	169
Medicine	..	..	..	125
Law	..	..	..	110
Botany, Agriculture, &c.	..	..	..	85
Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy	..	..	..	52
Periodicals in loose numbers	..	..	..	15,971
Total ..				47,858

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The total number of volumes added to the Library during the year was 1,421 of which 989 (including 91 vols. replaced) were purchased and 432 were presented.

Books were received as usual from the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, the Government of Bombay and other local Governments, and also from the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Funds as well as from individual authors and donors.

The number of volumes added to the Society's Library by purchase and presentation under different subjects is given in the following table :—

Subject.	Volumes Purchased.	Volumes Presented.
Religion and Theology ..	24	1
Philosophy	26	0
Logic, Education	12	0
Classics	14	0
Philology and Literary History ..	19	0
History and Chronology ..	56	2
Politics and Political Economy ..	73	10
Law	2	14
Public Records	0	161
Biography	55	7
Archæology, Antiquity	20	9
Voyages, Travels, &c.	43	83
Poetry and Drama	30	4
Fiction	260	2
Miscellaneous	76	1
Foreign Literature	6	3
Astronomy, Mathematics	5	0
Art, Architecture, &c.	18	2
Naval, Military	52	3
Natural History, Geology &c. ..	14	4
Botany, Agriculture	6	26
Physiology, Medicine	6	2
Annuals, Serials, Transactions of the Learned Societies	125	25
Dictionaries, Grammars, Reference Works	13	22
Oriental Literature	34	51
	989	432

ABSTRACT OF THE SOCIETY'S PROCEEDINGS.

v

The Papers, Periodicals, Journals, and Transactions of the Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during 1916 were :—

English Newspapers.

Daily	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Weekly	..	..	..	..	..	..	28

English Magazines and Reviews :—

Monthly	..	..	..	..	..	..	33
Quarterly	..	..	..	..	..	..	23
English Almanacks, Directories, Year Books, &c.							27
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals						..	13
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals						..	18
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes						..	26
Indian and Asiatic Journals and Reviews, &c.						..	59

A meeting of the Society under Art. XX of the Rules was held on 15th November for the revision of the list of Newspapers, Magazines, &c., taken by the Society.

The following were added to the list from 1917.

Scientific American and Supplement.

Le Muséon.

Poetry Review.

Arya.

India.

and the following were stopped from the same date.

Nash's and Pall Mall Magazine.

Induprakash.

THE NEW CATALOGUE.

The Authors' part of the Catalogue is nearly ready and copies will be available to members in about two months' time. It was hoped it would be ready in October last, but the delay was principally caused by the unexpectedly heavy corrections and additions that had to be made. The copy of the Subject Index is prepared and will be put in the printer's hands as soon as the last proofs of the Authors' part are corrected.

COIN CABINET.

The number of coins added to the Coin Cabinet during the year was 47 (including one silver received in 1915). Of these 2 were gold, 21 silver, 10 copper and 14 bronze. Of the total, 36 were presented by the U. P. Government, 6 by the Bombay Government, 4 by the Jambughoda State and 1 by the C. P. Government.

The Coins are of the following description :—

South Indian (Gold.)

1 Padma Tanka of Shri Rama.

Found in West Khandesh.

1 Jagadekamalla.

Found in East Khandesh.

Gujarath Sultanate (Silver).

4 Muzaffer II.

Presented by the Jambughoda State

Sultans of Delhi (Silver.)

2 Firoz III Tughlaq.

Presented by U. P. Government.

Mughal Emperors of India (Silver.)

1 Shah Alam II.

Mint Allahabad, 1191, Reg. 18.

Presented by U. P. Government.

1 Shah Alam (Aligaur) II.

Presented by C. P. Government

Post Mogul Coins (Silver).

4 Muhamad Akbar II.

Ahmedabad Mint.

1 With ग (ga) and Ankush.

1 With Flower.

1 With ग and Ankush.

1 With Ankush.

Found in Kaira Dist.

Oudh Coins (Silver).

2 Gaziuddin Haider.

Mint Lucknow.

(1) 1238, Reg. 4.

(1) 1239, Reg. 5.

1 Nasir-ud-din Haider. 1252. Reg. 9.

5 Muhammad Ali Shah.

(2) 1254, Reg. 1.

(1) 1254, Reg. 2.

(1) 1253, Reg. 1.

(1) 1255, Reg. 3.

(1) 1257, Reg. 5.

1 Gaziuddin Haider in the name of Shah Alam
Mint Lucknow.

1234, Reg. 26.

Presented by U. P. Government.

Oudh Coins (Copper).

2 Gaziuddin Haider.

Mint Lucknow.

(1) 1235, Reg. 1.

(1) 1237, Reg. 3.

8 Nasiruddin Haider.

Mint Lucknow.

(1) 1243, Reg. 1.

(1) 1244, Reg. 1.

(1) 1245, Reg. 3.

(2) 1246, Reg. 3.

(4) 1246, Reg. 4.

(1) 1247, Reg. 5.

(1) 1248, Reg. 5.

(1) 1249, Reg. 6.

Kings of Jaunpur (Bronze).

14 Husen Shah.

(2) 882.

(1) 883.

(1) 885.

(9) 887-895.

(1) 897.

Presented by U. P. Government.

DISPOSAL OF TREASURE TROVE COINS.

There were 887 coins under examination at the close of 1915 and 650 were received during the year under report. The latter included, (a) 2 from the Collector of Dharwar, (b) 28 from the Collector of Bombay, (c) 5 Silver from the Kurundwad State through the Bombay Government, (d) 14 Silver from the Collector of Poona, (e) 5 Copper from the Mamlatdar of Pathardi, (f) 85 Silver from the Mamlatdar of Parner, (g) 1 Gold and 55 Silver from the Collector of Poona and (h) 455 Silver from the Collector of Satara. Of these 578 (a, b, c, d, e and f and 439 out of 659 from the Collector of Kaira received last year) were returned being of no numismatic importance. 504 were reported to Government and disposed of as shown below. The coins were examined for the Society by Mr. Framji J. Thanawalla and the late Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar. 455 from the Collector of Satara are still under examination.

COINS DISPOSED OF.

Museums.	Gold	Silver	Total
Prince of Wales Museum	14	67	81
Indian Museum .. .	4	13	17
Govt. Museum, Madras	3	3	6
Provincial Museum, Lucknow	2	6	8
Lahore Museum ..	4	5	9
Nagpur Museum ..	4	6	10
Public Library, Shillong	0	8	8
Archaeological Survey, Poona	4	1	5
Peshawar Museum ..	1	5	6
Quetta Museum ..	2	11	13
Ajmir Museum ..	3	5	8
Rangoon Museum ..	2	7	9
Bihar and Orissa ..	2	2	4
Dacca Museum ..	3	1	4
Bengal Asiatic Society ..	2	4	6
B. B. R. A. Society ..	2	4	6
British Museum ..	2	3	5
Fitzwilliam Museum ..	2	0	2

DARBARS.

Mysore ..	2	0	2
Cochin ..	0	2	2
Jhalawar ..	1	3	4
Sirohi ..	1	0	1
Dholpur ..	1	0	1
Baroda ..	1	0	1
Akalkot ..	1	2	3
Cutch ..	1	1	2
Jamkhindi ..	1	3	4
Dhar ..	2	0	2
Rewah ..	1	2	3
Jodhpur ..	1	0	1
Pudukota ..	1	0	1
Balsinor ..	2	0	2
Jind ..	1	3	4
Bansda ..	1	3	4
Kolhapur ..	0	4	4
Dungarpur ..	1	3	4
Bhopal ..	1	3	4
Sitamar ..	1	3	4
Lunawada ..	1	3	4
Jaipur ..	1	3	4
Mint, Bombay ..	120	116	236
	199	305	504

MUSEUM.

A marble female statue was received from the Collector of Jalgaon during the year under report. Both wrists of the statue are broken, the right one missing. It is dressed in Marwari fashion and appears to belong to the 18th century.

JOURNAL.

No. 69, the 2nd number of Vol. XXIV, -was published during the year. It contains the following articles in addition to an abstract of proceedings of the Society and a list of presents to its Library.

- I. The ancient History of the Suez Canal from the times of the ancient Egyptian Kings, By Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B. A., Ph. D.
- II. The Hot Springs of the Ratnagiri District. By Dr. Harold H. Mann and S. R. Paranjepe.
- III. Hamza Ispahani. By G. K. Nariman.
- IV. The Life and Times of Shri Vedanta Desika. By V. Rangachari, M. A.
- V. Anquetil Du Perron of Paris—India as seen by him (1755-60). By Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B. A., Ph. D.
- VI. A note on some rare Coins in the Cabinet of the B. B. R. A. Society. By K. N. Dikshit, M. A.
- VII. Anquetil Du Perron of Paris and Dastur Darab of Surat. By Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B. A., Ph. D.

CAMPBELL MEMORIAL MEDAL.

The medal for 1914 which was awarded to Prof. A. A. Macdonell for his work "Vedic Index," was presented to him in London by Lord Sandhurst, sometime Patron of this Society, at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on 14th March 1916. (Complete proceedings of the meeting have been given in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal for July 1916.)

ACCOUNTS.

A statement of accounts for 1916 is subjoined. The total amount of subscriptions received during the year was Rs. 16,724-8 as against Rs. 15,818 in the preceding year. Besides this Rs. 2,000 were received on account of Life Subscription from four Resident Members and Rs. 120 from one Non-Resident Member,

which were invested in Government Securities as required by the Rules. The balance to the credit at the close of the year, including Rs. 2,558-0-5 advanced to the Jackson Memorial Fund and Rs. 5,000 placed with the Bank as Fixed Deposit for the new Catalogue, is Rs. 9,977-8-7.

The Government Securities of the Society including those of the Premchand Roychand Fund are for the face value of Rs. 26,400.

The Report and the statement of accounts were adopted; also the budget for 1917.

Mr. Aspinwall proposed and Mr. Wilkinson seconded that Rev. Dr. Scott be elected President of the Society.

Carried unanimously.

A vote of cordial thanks to the Hon. Justice Sir John Heaton for the services he had rendered to the Society as President during the last four years was carried unanimously.

The Hon. Secretary proposed and Mr. Saldanha seconded that Sir N. G. Chandavarkar be elected a Vice-President in place of Dr. Mackichan who was leaving India on furlough, and that the other Vice-Presidents should be re-elected.

Carried.

The following were then elected members of the Committee of Management for 1917.

- J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.
- V. P. Vaidya, Esq., Bar-at-Law.
- Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy C. Ibrahim.
- H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.
- Hon. Dr. D. A. Demonte.
- Prof. P. A. Wadia.
- Dr. Sir Stanley Reed.
- Hon. Mr. Justice L. A. Shah.
- A. F. Kindersley, Esq., I.C.S.
- A. L. Covernton, Esq., M.A.
- P. V. Kane, Esq., M.A., LL.B.
- Dr. P. N. Daruvala, Bar-at-Law.
- E. M. Ezekiel, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
- Rev. Fr. R. Zimmermann.
- K. Natarajan, Esq.
- J. A. Saldanha, Esq., B.A., LL.B.

A vote of thanks to Messrs. K. MacIver and J. S. Sanzgiri was passed and they were re-elected auditors for 1917.

Rev. R. M. Gray, M. A., was re-elected Hon. Secretary for 1917.

A meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday the 10th April, 1917.

Rev. Dr. R. Scott, M.A., D.D., President in the Chair.

There were also present :—Dr. J. J. Modi, Dr. P. N. Daruvala, Messrs. V. P. Vaidya, Kubalaya Raj, J. A. Saldanha, E. M. Ezekiel, Mr. and Mrs. J. G. E. Metcalfe and a few visitors.

Mr. Saldanha read his paper on “Some interesting Features in the Philology of Bombay Vernaculars and their bearing on Ethnical Jurisprudence.”

After some remarks Dr. Modi proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Saldanha for his interesting and learned paper. The proposal being seconded by Dr. Daruvala was carried unanimously. The President in closing the discussion also thanked the lecturer.

A meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday the 17th July, 1917.

Rev. Dr. R. Scott, M.A., D. D., President in the Chair.

There were also present :—Dr. J. J. Modi, Hon. Dr. D. A. Demonte, Rev. Fr. R. Zimmermann, Messrs. E. M. Ezekiel, R. N. Munshi and J. R. Gharpure.

Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. Modi read his paper on “The Moguls in Kashmir, Jehangir's inscription at Vernag.”

Rev. Fr. R. Zimmermann congratulated Dr. Modi on the happy find of the inscription and moved a vote of thanks for his interesting and learned paper.

Mr. Ezekiel seconded the motion and it was unanimously carried.

A meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday the 7th August, 1917.

Rev. Dr. R. Scott, M.A., D.D., President in the Chair.

There were also present :—Dr. J. J. Modi, Rev. R. Zimmermann, Messrs. E. M. Ezekiel, H. J. Bhabha, J. A. Saldanha, V. G. Bhandarkar, R. N. Munshi, H. A. Shah, F. D. Mullia, Kubalaya Raj and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Hon. Secretary.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. F. D. Mulla read his paper on "Mithraism and its analogy to modern Free Masonry."

Dr. Modi made some remarks on the subject of the paper and proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Mulla for his interesting and learned paper.

Mr. Saldanha seconded and the proposition was carried.

A meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday the 28th August, 1917.

Rev. Dr. R. Scott, M.A., D.D., President in the Chair.

There were also present :—Dr. J. J. Modi, Dr. P. N. Daruvala Rev. R. Zimmermann, The Hon. Mr. C. V. Mehta, Messrs. E. M. Ezekiel, R. N. Munshi, S. N. Karnatki, Rev. R. M. Gray, the Hon. Secretary and a few visitors

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed

Mr. S. N. Karnatki read his paper on "Lessons of the Gita."

A discussion followed in which Rev. Fr. Zimmermann and Dr. Modi took part. After some remarks on the points raised in the paper Rev. Zimmermann proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the author for his interesting and learned paper.

After a few words from the President the proceedings terminated.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday the 8th November, 1917.

Dr. J. J. Modi, C.I.E., one of the Vice-Presidents in the Chair.

There were also present :—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice L. A. Shah, Dr. P. N. Daruvala, Dr. D. D. Sathaye, Capt. F. W. Holden, Messrs. A. F. Kindersley, I.C.S., H. R. H. Wilkinson, E. M. Ezekiel, G. K. Nariman, G. S. Bhate, B. V. Vasudev, A. B. Agaskar, F. E. Bharucha, and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Hon. Secretary.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Secretary read out the several suggestions made by Members as well as other proposals made during the year.

Resolved that the following be added from 1918.

1. Expositor, 2. Manchester Guardian, 3. Leader, 4. Bengali,
5. Hindu, 6. Tribune, 7. Madras Government Gazette, 8. Bengal Economic Journal, 9. Philosophical Review, 10. Quarterly Journal of Economics.

It was also resolved that the proceedings of the several Provincial Legislative Councils of India in the Provincial Gazette be bound and preserved and that the proceedings from 1910, or the part of the Gazette wherein they appear, be ordered.

A meeting of the Society was held on Friday the 11th January, 1918.

Rev. Dr. R. Scott, M.A., D.D., President in the Chair.

There were also present — The Hon. Mr. C. A. Kincaid, Dr. J. J. Modi, Rev. R. Zimmermann, Messrs. H. J. Bhabha, J. A. Saldanha, K. A. Padhye, C. A. Latif, V. G. Bhandarkar, R. N. Munshi, Rev. R. M. Gray, the Hon. Secretary and a few visitors.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following two papers by Messrs. R. N. Munshi and J. A. Saldanha, B.A., LL.B. were read.

1. "The Life Story of the Portuguese Bell in the National Dabul Church, Girgaum, Bombay, from A.D. 1674."

2. "Survival of Portuguese Institutions in British India."

After some remarks on the papers Rev. Zimmermann proposed a vote of thanks to Messrs. Munshi and Saldanha for their interesting and learned papers. Dr. Modi seconded and the proposition was carried.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday the 24th January, 1918

Rev. Dr R Scott, M.A., D D., President in the Chair.

There were also present — The Hon. Mr. C. A. Kincaid, Dr. J. J. Modi, Rev. R. Zimmermann, Messrs. R. N. Munshi, G. K. Nariman, E. M. Ezekiel, S. S. Mehta, J. P. Watson, and a few visitors

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. Modi read his papers on :

1. Who is the King in the Story of the King and the Gardener in the Wakiat-i-Jehangiri of Emperor Jehangir ?

2. Archery in ancient Persia, its few extraordinary feats.

3. An instance of Royal Svayamvara (self-choice of a husband) in the Shah-nameh of Firdousi.

A discussion followed in which the Hon. Mr. Kincaid, Mr. Nariman and Mr. Mehta took part.

Rev. Zimmerman proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Modi. Mr. Ezekiel seconded the proposal and the proceedings terminated.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday the 14th February, 1918.

Rev. Dr. R. Scott, M.A., D.D., President in the Chair.

There were also present :—Messrs. I. N. Thakore, H. A. Shah, J. S. Sanzgiri, Dr. P. N. Daruvala, Prof. Shaik Abdul Kadir, Mr. Ezekiel, Dr. J. J. Modi, Mr. R. N. Munshi, Prof. Muhamed Abbas and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Hon. Secretary. There were also present a large number of visitors.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Rev. Fr. R. Zimmerman read the first part of his paper on “Sankaracharya and Kant : a comparison.”

Dr. Modi moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer for his interesting and original paper. Dr. Daruvala seconded the proposal which was warmly endorsed by the President and carried.

A meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday the 5th March, 1918.

Rev. Dr. R. Scott, M.A., D.D., President in the Chair.

Members present :—Dr. J. J. Modi, Prof. P. A. Wadia, Rev. Fr. R. Zimmerman, Dr. P. N. Daruvala, The Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh, The Hon. Dr. D. A. De Monte, Messrs. S. S. Mehta, G. K. Nariman, H. J. Bhabha, E. M. Ezekiel, A. F. Kindersley, R. N. Munshi, F. A. Vakil, and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Hon. Secretary. A few visitors were also present.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. J. N. Farquhar, Litt. D. read his paper on “Bhagvat Puran and the sects dependent thereon.”

A discussion followed in which Mr. G. K. Nariman, Mr. S. S. Mehta, Rev. Fr. Zimmerman and Dr. Modi took part.

Mr. S. S. Mehta moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Farquhar for his interesting and learned paper. It was seconded by Rev. Zimmerman and carried. Dr. Farquhar briefly replied and the proceedings terminated.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday the 27th March, 1918.

Rev. Dr. R. Scott, M. A., D. D., President in the Chair.

There were also present :—Miss S. Paruck, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Messrs. J. E. Aspinwall, H. R. H. Wilkinson, Dr. N. A. Moos, Messrs. C. A. Latif, S. S. Mehta, J. S. Sanzgiri, K. A. Padhye, Dr. P. N. Daruvala, Dr. D. A. De Monte, Messrs. S. V. Bhandarkar, E. M. Ezekiel, R. N. Munshi, J. R. Gharpure, Capt. F. W. Holden, Messrs. P. V. Kane, V. P. Vaidya, B. Venkoba Rao, Prof. A. L. Covernton, Messrs. A. F. Kindersley, J. P. Watson, W. W. Fanaken and Rev. R. M. Gray, the Hon. Secretary.

The Hon. Secretary read the following report :—

THE ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1917.

MEMBERS.

Resident :—91 new members were elected during the year under report and 5 Non-Resident members having come to Bombay, were transferred to the Resident list. 24 resigned, 4 died, and 7 having left Bombay, were put on the Non-Resident list. This leaves 387 on the roll at the close of 1917 against 326 at the close of 1916.

Non-Resident :—19 new members joined under this class and 7 Resident members having left Bombay, were transferred to the list of Non-Resident members. 14 resigned, 1 died and 5 having come to Bombay, were put on the Resident list. The number at the end of the year is 160, the number at the end of the preceding year being 154.

OBITUARY.

The Society records with regret the death of the following members :—

Honorary.

Sir George Birdwood.

Resident.

Lt.-Col. K. R. Kirtikar, I. M. S. (Retd.)

Mr. N. B. Masani.

„ M. B. Tyabjee, I. C. S.

„ R. Whately.

Non-Resident.

The Hon. Mr. W. H. Sharp.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The following papers were read before the Society during the year :—

- I. Some Interesting Antiquities of Salsette. By J. A. Saldanha, B.A., L.L.B.—12th January.
- II. Ancient Geography of Maharashtra. By P. V. Kane, M.A., L.L.M.—29th January.
- III. Some Interesting Features in the Philology of Bombay Vernaculars and their bearing on Ethnical Jurisprudence. By J. A. Saldanha, B.A., LL.B.—10th April.
- IV. The Moguls in Kashmīr; Jehangir's Inscription at Vernag. By Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.—17th July.
- V. Mithraism and its Analogy to modern Free Masonry. By Fredun D. Mulla, Bar-at-Law.—7th August.
- VI. Lessons of the Gita. By S. N. Karnatki.—28th August.

LIBRARY.

The issues of books during the year were 57,104 volumes—33,978 of New books including periodicals, and 23,126 of Old books. The daily average, excluding Sundays, holidays and the first week of December, was 195. The total number of issues in the previous year was 47,858.

A detailed statement of monthly issues is given below :—

MONTHLY ISSUES.

	New books.	Old books
January	2,790	1,623
February	2,752	1,541
March	2,815	2,138
April	2,827	1,926
May	3,290	1,840
June	2,692	1,867
July	3,006	2,012
August	3,199	2,322
September	2,915	1,899
October	3,477	2,157
November	2,407	1,585
December	1,808	2,216

The issues of books under several classes were as under :—

Fiction	..	..	..	..	..	19,638
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	..	2,217
Biography	..	..	..	..	..	2,177
History	..	..	..	..	..	1,775
Travels and Topography	..	..	..	..	..	1,734
Naval and Military	..	..	..	..	..	1,346
Politics, Sociology, Economics	..	..	..	..	..	1,696
Oriental Literature	..	..	..	..	..	1,272
Poetry and Drama	..	..	..	..	..	1,021
Reviews, Magazines (Bound Volumes)	..	..	..	..	..	668
Archaeology, Folklore, Anthropology	..	..	..	..	..	521
Philosophy	..	..	..	..	..	507
Literary History and Criticism	..	..	..	..	..	480
Foreign Literature	..	..	..	..	..	408
Science, Natural History	..	..	..	..	..	344
Religion	..	..	..	..	..	314
Art and Architecture	..	..	..	..	..	312
Botany, Agriculture	..	..	..	..	..	294
Logic, works relating to Education	..	..	..	..	..	257
Government Reports and Public Records	..	..	..	..	..	218
Physiology, Medicine	..	..	..	..	..	224
Classics	..	..	..	..	..	193
Dictionaries, Grammars, Reference Works	..	..	..	..	..	190
Law	..	..	..	..	..	126
Astronomy, Mathematics	..	..	..	..	..	98
Periodicals in loose numbers	..	..	..	..	..	19,094

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The total number of volumes added to the library during the year was 1,685, of which 1,160 were purchased and 525 were presented.

Books were received as usual from the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, the Government of Bombay and other local Governments, and also from the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Funds, as well as from individual authors and donors. Among the last special mention must be made of Mr. F. D. Mulla, Bar-at-Law, and Mr. P. N. Unvalla, who have presented 171 volumes and 35 volumes respectively. A catalogue of these additions, both according to authors and subjects, is in the press and, as usual, will be sent free to members when ready.

The number of volumes added to the Society's Library by purchase and presentation under different subjects is given in the following table :—

Subject		Volumes purchased.	Volumes presented.
1. Religion and Theology	..	10	9
2. Philosophy	.. ..	23	1
3. Logic and Education	..	10	1
4. Classics	.. ..	8	14
5. Literary History	.. ..	21	1
6. History and Chronology	..	65	13
7. Politics, Political Economy, &c.		57	5
8. Law	.. ..	1	24
9. Public Records	.. ..	50	124
10. Biography, Memoirs, &c.	..	51	9
11. Archaeology, Antiquity, &c.		16	26
12. Voyages, Travels, &c.	..	26	28
13. Poetry and Drama	.. ..	24	1
14. Fiction	.. ..	361	4
15. Miscellaneous	.. ..	41	12
16. Foreign Literature	.. ..	5	28
17. Astronomy, Mathematics	..	3	1
18. Art, Architecture, &c.	..	16	5
19. Naval and Military	.. ..	58	7
20. Natural History, Geology, &c.		15	9
21. Botany, Agriculture	..	8	10
22-23 Physiology, Medicine, Surgery		5	1
24. Annuals, Serials, Transactions of Learned Societies	..	199	28
25. Dictionaries, Grammars, Reference Works	.. ..	29	108
26. Oriental Literature	.. ..	58	56
		1,160	525

The Papers and Periodicals, Journals and Transactions of the Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during 1917 were :—

English Newspapers :—

Daily	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Weekly	..	..	..	..	..	..	28

English Magazines and Reviews :—

Monthly	..	..	..	..	..	..	28
Quarterly	..	..	..	..	..	..	22
English Almanacs, Directories, Year Books, &c.							33
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals							23
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals							23
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes	..						20
Indian and Asiatic Journals and Reviews							65

A meeting of the Society under Art. XX of the Rules was held on 8th November for the revision of the list of Newspapers, Magazines, &c. taken by the Society.

The following were added to the list from 1918 :—

Bengal Economic Journal
 Bengalee
 Expositor
 Hindu.
 Leader.
 Madras Government Gazette.
 Manchester Guardian.
 Philosophical Review.
 Quarterly Journal of Economics.
 Tribune

Art. XXXVI of the Rules requires that all books issued up to 30th November should be returned to the Library in the first week of December, evidently for the purpose of taking stock and noting books lost. Such a stock-taking was attempted in the year under report and a list of the books missing has been made. It is now proposed to check the Library every year.

THE NEW CATALOGUE.

The Authors' part of the Catalogue was published in March. It is much larger than originally anticipated and covers more than one thousand pages. The second part—Subjects—is in the press and is hoped to be published by the end of the year.

COIN CABINET.

The number of coins added to the Coin Cabinet during the year was 125. Of these 21 were silver, 73 copper, 31 billon. Of the total 14 were presented by the U. P. Government, 28 by the Gwalior State, 2 by the Jodhpur Durbar, 1 by Dr. E. Moses and 80 by Mr. Kubalaya Raj.

The coins are of the following description :—

Moghal Emperors of India (Silver)

1 Shah Alam II

2 Mint Allahabad
 1192, Reg. 19,18.

1 „ Benares
 1201, Reg. 26.

5 „ Ahmednagar
 1205—9.

2 „ Ahmednagar
 1198 Reg. 24 & 25.

Presented by the U. P. Government.

Sasanian (Silver)**2 Firoz***Presented by the Jodhpur Durbar.*

8 (Silver) from Mr. Kubalaya Raj are under examination.

Dutch East India Co. (Copper)**1 Half-Paisa.***Presented by Dr. Moses.*

72 (Copper), Presented by Mr. Kubalaya Raj are under examination.

Pathan Sultans of Delhi (Billon)**2 Shamshudin Altamash***Presented by U. P. Government.***Contemporaries of the Early Sultans of Delhi.****11 (Billon) of Nasir-ul-din Qubacha.***Presented by U. P. Government.***Chahamana Dynasty of Narwar (Billon.)****10 Chahada-Deva.****10 Asalladeva.****8 Gopaldeva***Presented by the Gwalior State.***DISPOSAL OF TREASURE TROVE COINS.**

There were 455 coins under examination at the close of 1916, and 502 were received during the year under report. The latter included (a) 68 Silver from the Collector of Thana, (b) 71 Silver from the Collector of West Khandesh, (c) 40 Silver from the Collector of Satara, (d) 63 Gold from the Collector of Dharwar, (e) 147 Silver and 27 Copper from the Collector of Satara, (f) 24 Silver from the Mamlatdar of Newara and (g) 3 Gold and 59 Silver from the Mamlatdar of Shirpur. Of these, 634 (a, 69 out of b, c, 2 out of 147 from the Collector of Satara, and 455 under examination last year) were returned, being of no numismatic importance; and 323 are still under examination.

The Society records with regret the death of Mr. Framji J. Thanawala who was its numismatic expert for several years. Mr. Thanawala deciphered the coins referred to him and supplied material for report to Government. He did this work as a labour of love. Mr. Thanawala was unwell for a considerable part of the year and finally succumbed in November last.

JOURNAL.

No. 70, the 3rd number of Vol. XXIV, was published during the year. It contains the following articles in addition to an abstract of proceedings of the Society and a list of presents to its Library —

- I. Ancient Pataliputra Dr D B Spooner's recent Excavations and its sit : and the Question of the Influence of Ancient Persia upon India By Shams-ul-Ulma Dr Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A, Ph.D.
- II. Note of Correction for the Paper, "A Persian Inscription of the Moghul times (Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol XXIV, No 1 pp 137—161), By Shams-ul-Ulma Dr Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B A, Ph D
- III Early History of the Huns and their Inroads in India and Persia By Shams ul-Ulma Dr Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B A, Ph D
- IV Yaska XLVIII in its Indian Equivalents By Prof. L H Mills
- V Some Interesting Antiquities of Salsette By J. A. Saldanha, B A LL.B
- VI Ancient Geography and Civilization of Maharashtra By P V Kane, M A, LL M.

ACCOUNTS

A statement of accounts for 1917 is subjoined The total amount of subscriptions received during the year was Rs. 18,705 as against Rs 16,724 8 in the preceding year Besides this, Rs 2,000 were received on account of Life Subscription from four Resident Members which were invested in Government securities as required by the Rules The balance to the credit at the close of the year is Rs 10,676-0-8 This includes Rs 2,524 0-5 advanced to the Jackson Memorial Fund, Rs 5,000 placed in the Bank as fixed deposit for the New Catalogue, Rs 475 advanced to the staff for subscribing to the War Loan and Rs 300 advanced to the Librarian for expenses in connection with his tour

The Government Securities of the Society including those of the Premchand Roychand Fund are for the face value of Rs. 28,200

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, in proposing the adoption of the report, as well as the budget estimates for 1918 submitted by the Hon Secretary, congratulated the Society on the success

of its several activities during the year. He referred with regret to the sad death of two eminent scholars, Sir George Birdwood and Lt.-Col. K. R. Kirtikar.

Mr. E. M. Ezekiel seconded and the proposal was carried.

Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson proposed, and Dr. P. N. Daruvala seconded, that the following members should form the Committee of Management for 1918:—

President.

REV. DR. R. SCOTT, M.A., D.D.

Vice-Presidents.

Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Kt., B.A., LL.B.

Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

Sir Bhalchandra Krishna Bhatawadekar, Kt., L. M.

The Hon'ble Mr. G. S. Curtis, C.S.I., I. C.S.

Members.

J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.

V. P. Vaidya, Esq., B.A., Bar.-at-Law.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

Hon. Dr. D. A. De Monte, M.D.

Prof. P. A. Wadia, M.A.

Dr. Sir Stanley Reed.

Hon. Mr. Justice L. A. Shah, M.A., LL.B.

A. F. Kindersley, Esq., B.A., I.C.S.

Prof. A. L. Covernton, M.A.

P. V. Kane, Esq., M.A., LL.M.

Dr. P. N. Daruvala, LL.D. (London), Bar.-at-Law.

E. M. Ezekiel, Esq., B.A., LL.B.

K. Natarajan, Esq.

Rev. Fr. R. Zimmermann.

Prof. Shaikh Abdul Kadir, M.A.

Honorary Secretary.

REV. R. M. GRAY, M.A.

The proposal was carried.

Mr. V. P. Vaidya moved a vote of thanks to Messrs. K. MacIver and J. S. Sanzgiri for their valuable services in auditing the accounts and proposed that they be requested to continue their services.

The proposal being seconded by Dr. Daruvala, was unanimously carried.

The President in concluding the proceedings referred to the gratifying condition of the finances, and to the increase in the membership and also in the number of learned papers. At the present moment there were several young men that in the department of Sanskrit Scholarship, gave high promise for the future. This evening we were hoping to have an illustration of the fact, but illness has interposed. Reference was made to the loss of two antiquarian scholars, Sir G. Birdwood and Col. Kirtikar and to two leading members of the Educational Service. Mr. Sharp, the late Director, was distinguished by clearness of mind, force of character, and intimate knowledge of detail. Beneath the surface he had a very warm interest in the well being of the youth of this country; and he heroically struggled to maintain the full work of his department while suffering from an insidious and mortal illness. Principal Nelson-Fraser was intellectually brilliant and in many respects unique. Familiar with the ancient classics, and the modern languages, he had travelled through Asia, Africa and America, and knew much regarding all the peoples and problems of our world. He was also minutely attentive to the duties that fell to him in Bombay. Our great regret is that he did not live to gather the full fruits of his observation and study. When illness overtook him he was engaged on at least two important literary tasks, the completion of his study of Tukaram and other Marathi poets, and the writing of a short History of Asia. We trust that the former in its four volumes will be fairly complete, and that the History is sufficiently advanced to become a hand-book for Indian students. While we regret the premature loss of a keen intellect and an inspiring friend, we are glad that we have, along with personal remembrance, many valuable memorials of his work.

List of Presents to the Library, 1917.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ACTS and Monuments of John Foxe, 8 vols.	F. D. Mulla.
— passed by the Governor-General of India in Council, 1916.	Government of India.
ADDRESSES on the occasion of the tercentenary of the death of Richard Hakluyt. By A. Gray.	Government of Bombay.
ADMINISTRATION report, Ajmer-Merwara, 1915-16.	Government of India.
— report, Assam, 1915-16.	Government of Assam.
— report, Baluchistan Agency, 1915-16.	Government of India.
— report, Bengal, 1915-16.	Government of Bengal.
— report, Bihar and Orissa, 1915-16.	Government of Bihar and Orissa.
— report, Bombay Presidency, 1915-16 and 1916-17	Government of Bombay.
— report, Burma, 1915-16.	Government of Burma.
— report, Madras Presidency, 1916-17.	Government of Madras.
— report, N. W. F. Province, 1915-16.	Government of the N. W. F. P.
— report, Punjab and its dependencies, 1915-16.	Government of the Punjab.
— report U. P. of Agra and Oudh, 1915-16.	Government of the U. P.
AFGHANISTAN, Nott's Brigade in.	F. D. Mulla
AFRICA, South, papers relating to.	F. D. Mulla.
AGRICULTURAL Department, Punjab, report on operations, 1916-17.	Government of the Punjab.
— statistics of India, 1915-16. 2 vols.	Government of India,

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
AGRICULTURE Department, Bonibay, annual report, 1915-16.	Government of Bombay.
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